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ABSTRACT

Sections of this annual report deal with the following topics: political and constitutional developments--the white population group, the colored population group, the Indian group; political affairs of Africans; commission of inquiry into certain organizations and related matters; organizations concerned with race relations; the population of South Africa; measures for security and the control of persons; control of media of communication; justice; liberation movements; foreign affairs; services and amenities for black people in urban areas; group areas and housing: colored, Asian, and white population groups; urban African administration; the Pass laws; the African homelands; employment; education: comparative statistics, Bantu school education, school education for colored pupils, school education for Indians, school education for white pupils; technical and vocational training: Africans, colored, Indians, whites; university education; student organizations; some bursary (scholarship) funds; health; social pensions; the arts, entertainment, and recreation facilities; sport; southwest Africa (Namibia); and, Legislation of 1974, including the Affected Organizations Act, Bantu Laws Amendment Act, Bantu Transport Services Amendment Act, Liquor Amendment Bill, Official Secrets Amendment Bill, and four others. (JM)

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A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

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NOTE

This *Survey* is stated to be for the year 1974. As it was wished to have it published early in the new year, however, it was impossible to include mention of events that took place during the last few weeks of the year. This will be done in the next issue.

All dates mentioned refer to the year 1974 unless otherwise stated.

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POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

THE WHITE POPULATION GROUP

SESSIONS OF PARLIAMENT AND OF PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

The fifth session of the Fourth Parliament of the Republic of S.A. lasted from 1 to 27 February, inclusive. Parliament was then prorogued to allow preparations to be made for a general election, held on 24 April. The Fifth Parliament opened its proceedings on 2 August and rose on 1 November.

In terms of Proclamation 22/1974, provincial councils were dissolved with effect from 28 February, in order that the provincial elections might be held on the same day as the general election.[1]

RACIAL POLICIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES CONTESTING THE GENERAL ELECTION

NATIONAL PARTY

The Nationalists' plan for the ultimate future of Southern Africa (including the present Republic and neighbouring states) is a power bloc consisting of a free association of sovereign states, politically independent, but economically inter-dependent.[2]

The National Party is encouraging the development within the Republic of separate "nations": a White, a Coloured, an Indian, and nine or ten distinctive African nations. Each of the African nations has been or is to be allocated a homeland which may eventually possibly become an independent state. Apart from the diminutive Basotho homeland, the only one of these that constitutes a fairly compact geographical area is the Transkei, but plans are in hand to consolidate to a limited degree the scattered areas forming the others by buying for African occupation the remainder of the land promised to them in 1936 but not yet acquired, and by exchanging certain White-owned for African-owned land. Legislative Assemblies are being created in the various homelands, and being granted increasing powers of control of certain governmental services within their areas of jurisdiction.

Africans in the towns and White farming areas (constituting a *de facto*, 53,6 per cent of the total number in 1970) will continue to exercise political rights only in the homelands allocated to members of their own ethnic groups, and it is solely in these areas that they are promised unrestricted rights to economic and social advancement.

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[1] Enabling legislation was passed in 1973. See 1973 *Survey*, page 15.

[2] Prime Minister, Assembly 4 February, Hansard 1 cols. 54–9.

The rest of the country (about 87 per cent of the whole) is to remain one state, under White control. The Coloured and Asian "nations" will continue to be subject to a White parliament. Through the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, the S.A. Indian Council, and local government bodies, however, they are being granted self-government in such matters as education, welfare services, and urban affairs, and an extension of powers is promised.

UNITED PARTY

Policy for the political future of the country

The United Party, led by Sir De Villiers Graaff, M.P., has accepted that certain of the homelands may become independent states, but considers that close links should be maintained with such territories, and that as much of S.A. as is feasible should be preserved as one economy. In terms of its federal plan, various communities would be identified, according to ethnic and geographical considerations. Each would have its own legislative assembly, with, possibly, wider powers than those of existing provincial councils. Standing committees would be established, consisting of M.P.'s and members of each assembly, to advise the central (White) parliament on matters affecting the community concerned.

A federal assembly would be created, consisting of three representatives of each legislative assembly together with 120 members elected on the basis of a formula reflecting the contribution of each community to the country's gross domestic product. Parliament would, in its discretion, gradually delegate certain powers, concerning matters of common interest, to this federal assembly. This body would not be able to interfere in the internal affairs or special interests of the various communities and their legislative assemblies.

The U.P. has in the past been committed "to White leadership in the interests of all of our people and as an instrument to bring about a sharing of power and responsibility among all our population groups". The existing parliament would be responsible, through consultation and negotiation, for the formation of the legislative assemblies and the federal assembly, and for defining the powers of these bodies. It would, for some time at any rate, continue to act as the regulating power to ensure that the other bodies were functioning in accordance with the constitution, and that minorities were satisfied that their rights were safe. (As described later, there has in recent months been internal debate on the future rôle of the Coloured people and on the question as to whether the White parliament should eventually phase itself out in favour of the federal assembly.)

The Party believes that separate social and residential facilities for the various racial groups should be retained. But permanently urbanized Africans should have the right to acquire freehold title to land in their own residential areas, should be afforded a greater sense of security, and should have improved standards of living, educational facilities, and training for employment.

The "Mahlabatini Declaration", and repercussions

On 4 January Mr. Harry Schwarz, the leader of the U.P. in the Transvaal, had discussions at Mahlabatini in Natal with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Chief Executive Councillor of KwaZulu. Both men were acting in their personal capacities. They jointly signed a declaration of faith, which stated that "the situation of South Africa in the world scene as well as internal community relations requires, in our view, an acceptance of certain fundamental concepts for the economic, social, and constitutional development of our country". Certain principles were enunciated, on the basis of which the two men believed that all the people of S.A. could co-operate.

Briefly, these principles were that change in S.A. must be brought about by peaceful means. All the people should be afforded the opportunity for material and educational advancement. A consultative council representative of all groups should be established to draw up constitutional proposals which would, *inter alia*, protect the identity and culture of the various groups, and include a Bill of Rights to safeguard the fundamental concepts of natural justice. The federal concept appeared to provide the best framework on which to seek a constitutional solution.

Shortly after this declaration was published, several of the homeland leaders attended the Council meeting of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, held in Cape Town. The Chief Ministers of Lebowa, BophuthaTswana, and Gazankulu, Mr. Cedric N. Phatudi, Chief Lucas Mangope, and Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, told the Press[3] that they fully supported the declaration.

There was, however, considerable criticism of Mr. Schwarz's action from within the U.P., notably from leading members of its "establishment" or "Old Guard". Leading Party members in Natal considered that they should have been consulted. Sir De Villiers had been on holiday at the time, but after acquainting himself with the facts stated[4] that the principles of the declaration were, in general, consistent with established U.P. policy. However, there were certain points that might be misinterpreted, for example the fact that, while various groups and individuals were promoting the

[3] e.g. *Cape Argus*, 17 January.
[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 January.

federal concept, there was as yet no agreement on the type of federation to be sought. Sir De Villiers went on to say, "Mr. Schwarz has expressed his regret that I was not consulted prior to the publication of the declaration, and understands that I would not tolerate any invasion, however unintentional, of the scope or authority of my leadership. I will go into the question of the protocol governing Mr. Schwarz's visit to Chief Buthelezi in Natal." The Party's parliamentary caucus unanimously endorsed this statement.

Declaration of agreement signed with Mr. C. N. Phatudi

It was announced on 30 March that Mr. M. L. Mitchell, chairman of the U.P. constitutional committee, and Mr. Schwarz had visited Mr. Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, at Seshego. After discussions a joint statement was issued endorsing the Mahlabatini Declaration, and following fairly similar lines. It was stated, *inter alia,* that all South Africans must be united to meet any external threats, subversion, or terrorism, and that the best way of uniting the people to meet such threats was to give them a real stake in the society which they were asked to defend.

Mr. Mitchell told the Press[5] that the meeting with Mr. Phatudi had been part of the consultations being conducted by the constitutional committee, of which Mr. Schwarz was a member. A number of the African, Coloured, and Indian leaders to whom the committee had spoken had not only wanted the discussions to remain confidential, but also the fact that they had met.

Nomination contests

In several constituencies there were bitter disputes over the nomination of U.P. candidates for the parliamentary elections. Personal animosities and divisions between some members of the "establishment" and of the "reformist group" were evident, and prior to the elections there was a lack of unanimity on certain aspects of the future of the Party's federal policy.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

The Progressive Party, led by Mr. Colin Eglin, bases its policy on the belief that South Africa is, and will remain, a multi-racial country whose citizens are interdependent. Its philosophy is that in any society, the individual human being is of paramount importance. Each citizen must be treated with equal dignity. Merit, and not skin colour, should be the measure of individual worth.

The Party opposes compulsory social integration, as well as compulsory segregation. Social relationships should be regulated by the conventions of society and the attitude of individuals.

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[5] *Sunday Express*, 31 March; *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 April.

The Progressives consider that South Africa should become a federation of, largely, autonomous provinces, the provincial boundaries being redrawn to take into account demographic, economic, and other factors.

The constitution should be a rigid one that cannot be altered by an engineered majority, with safeguards for the protection of minorities. A common roll franchise should be extended to all citizens who have passed, say, Standard VIII, or have a Standard VI qualification with the regular income of at least a semi-skilled worker. The Senate should be so elected that it would be able to reject legislation detrimental to any racial group.

There should be an entrenched Bill of Rights, guaranteeing to all freedom of speech, worship, and assembly; freedom from arbitrary arrest; equal access to courts of law; equal protection under the law; and the independence of the judiciary.

The Party stands for the repeal of all discriminatory laws and the provision of educational and economic opportunities to enable people of all racial groups to qualify as voters and to develop their potential skills for the benefit of the country as a whole.

HERSTIGTE NASIONALE PARTY

The Herstigte Nasionale Party, led by Dr. Albert Hertzog, stands for national unity around the core of Afrikanerdom. English-speakers are regarded as Afrikaners in the making. Afrikaans should be the national language.

International forces making for racial integration must be resisted. The party regards the maintenance of separate identities by the Whites and Blacks as paramount: the latter must not be given expectations of social equality with Whites.

Economic forces militating against separate development must be countered to ensure peaceful progress in which the separate development of the White and Black groups would be strengthened. Industrialization should be checked if it is overstimulated by foreign capital and labour.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The Democratic Party, led by Mr. Theo Gerdener, was formed in 1973. It advocates a "twin-stream" policy. In the one stream would be the Whites, Coloured, and Indians. All basic rights at present enjoyed by the Whites would be extended gradually to these others. In the course of time, all public facilities would be shared, and a state would emerge in which all citizens had full equality, petty discrimination based on colour being eliminated.

The borders of the homelands should be redrawn to consolidate these areas into large blocks which could become viable, completely independent, states. There would be no mass removals of people: Whites could remain in the new African areas if they so wished. Large urban African townships might be converted into autonomous city states or into integrated parts of homelands, or else urban Africans could form a third bloc of the peoples of South Africa.

The mixed White, Coloured, and Indian areas, together with the independent African states, the autonomous city states, and, possibly, neighbouring states would be linked in a confederation, economically inter-dependent but politically independent.

SMALLER GROUPS

A Social Democratic Party, which nominated one candidate for the elections, stood for a socialistic economic policy with a fair distribution of wealth; free and compulsory education for all; entrenchment of personal rights; a national health and welfare scheme; and the abolition of censorship.

An Alliance for Radical Change, which also nominated one candidate, maintained that all the people of S.A. should have the vote, and help to decide their future.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS

House of Assembly

The general elections of members of the House of Assembly and of provincial councils were held on 24 April. The main issue that the U.P. and P.P. placed before the electorate was the need for a more effective opposition. The N.P. stressed the need for firm government. Two U.P. parliamentary candidates, one from the Cape and the other from S.W.A., died shortly before the election date: it was announced that by-elections would be held later.[1] Forty-three of the 171 seats were uncontested, 30 of these going to the N.P. and 13 to the U.P.

The numbers of seats obtained by the various parties (including the two constituencies where polling was deferred) were as set out in the table that follows. The figures in brackets represent the results of the previous general election, in 1970.

	N.P.	*U.P.*	*P.P.*	*Totals*
Transvaal	61 (58)	11 (14)	4 (1)	76 (73)
Cape	37 (36)	15 (18)	3 (–)	55 (54)
Natal	5 (3)	15 (15)	— (–)	20 (18)
O.F.S.	14 (15)	— (–)	— (–)	14 (15)
S.W.A.	6 (6)	— (–)	— (–)	6 (6)
	123 (118)	41 (47)	7 (1)	171 (166)

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[1] In the event, a by-election was unnecessary in the S.W.A. constituency, as only the N.P. nominated a candidate

The Democratic and Herstigte Nasionale Parties, the small parties, and the Independents did not succeed in gaining representation. The Democratic Party, however, had a comparatively high number of votes per candidate. The U.P. gained one seat from the N.P. but lost two to the N.P. and six to the P.P. The leaders of all three of these parties were returned to Parliament: Mr. B. J. Vorster, Sir De Villiers Graaff, and Mr. C. W. Eglin respectively. There was a small swing from the N.P. to the H.N.P.

All of the five prominent "reformist" U.P. candidates in the Transvaal, led by Mr. Harry Schwarz, gained seats, but several of the more conservative former U.P. members were defeated, including Mr. Radclyffe Cadman, the party leader in Natal.

Further particulars relating to the elections, excluding the two seats where polling was deferred, are:

	No. of seats contested	*Average no. of votes per seat contested*	*Percentage of total vote* [2]
National Party	136	4 695	56,2
United Party	111	3 278	32,0
Progressive Party	22	3 290	6,4
Herstigte Nasionale Party	50	884	3,9
Democratic Party	8	1 592	1,1
Others and independents	11	434	0,4

A Natal member of the U.P. gave up his seat to allow Mr. Radclyffe Cadman to contest it. The latter was opposed by Mr. Theo J. A. Gerdener, leader of the Democratic Party. Mr Cadman won by 30 votes in a 51,2 per cent poll. (The constituency concerned, Umhlatuzana, had previously been a safe U.P. seat, the U.P. candidate being opposed only by an independent in the April elections three months earlier, and being returned with a 4 246 majority.)

Provincial Councils

The results of the provincial elections were as follows (the results of the 1970 elections being shown in brackets):

	N.P.	*U.P.*	*P.P.*	*Total*
Transvaal	61 (54)	13 (19)	2 (–)	76 (73)
Cape	37 (36)	17 (18)	1 (–)	55 (54)
Natal	4 (3)	16 (22)	— –	20 (25)
O.F.S.	28 (25)	— –	— –	28 (25)
S.W.A.	18 (18)	— –	— –	18 (18)
	148 (136)	46 (59)	3 (–)	197 (195)

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[2] In its issue of 5 May the *South African Digest* gave slightly different figures for the percentage of total votes cast gained by the various parties, *viz* N.P.57 (2), U.P. 32,7, P.O. 5,3, H.N.P. 3,6, D.P. 0,9, others and independents 0,4.

Again, the smaller parties gained no representation. Seventy-eight of the seats were uncontested, 61 of these going to the N.P. and 17 to the U.P.

The Senate

The Senate was dissolved with effect from 11 May, new elections being held on 30 May. This body consists of:
(a) ten members nominated by the State President, half of these (one from each province and one from S.W.A.) being selected mainly on the grounds of their thorough acquaintance with the reasonable wants and wishes of Coloured people;
(b) persons from each of the four provinces, elected by M.P.'s and M.P.C.'s from the province concerned sitting in joint session and using the system of proportional representation. To determine the number of senators, the number of M.P.'s and M.P.C.'s from the province is divided by ten; but there must be a minimum of eight senators per province;
(c) two members elected by the M.P.'s and Members of the Legislative Assembly in S.W.A.

The composition of the new Senate was:

	N.P.	*U.P.*	*Total*
Nominated members	10	—	10
Elected members.			
Transvaal	13	3	16
Cape	8	3	11
Natal	2	6	8
O.F.S.	8	—	8
S.W.A.	2	—	2
	43	12	55

PARTY POLITICAL EVENTS SINCE THE ELECTIONS

National Party

There has, in recent months, been a growing acceptance by National Party leaders and others of the use of the term "Black" instead of "Bantu" or "African". (In contrast, certain newspapers, organizations including the Institute of Race Relations, and many people of colour, employ the term "Black" as a collective term to include Coloured, Asians, and Africans.)

Since the elections, divisions of opinion within the National Party have become more evident than they previously were. As indicated later, among the issues concerned have been foreign affairs, and the political future of the Coloured people in S.A. Other differences, which have been aired by academics and in the Afrikaner Press, have been between advocates of a pragmatic adjustment to developing events and circumstances in the common area of S.A.[3], on the one hand, and, on the other, traditionalists who believe that any concessions whatsoever made along the racial line will eventually and inevitably lead to complete racial integration, and must be resisted. There has been argument, for example, about the integration of Black workers into the common economy, the preservation of "petty apartheid", and on the question as to whether S.A. sporting teams should be chosen on merit, irrespective of race.

Referring to the Security Council debate in October, when the United States, Britain, and France exercised their vetos to prevent S.A.'s expulsion from the UN (described later), the Prime Minister urged, in a speech made in Nigel on 5 November, that political commentators should give S.A. "a chance of about six months". They would be surprised, he said, at where the country would stand in six to twelve months' time.

United Party

During June there were further confrontations in the Cape between certain members of the "establishment" and the "reformist group", but it was reported[4] that reconciliation was achieved after the appointment of a temporary ad hoc central disciplinary committee. The parliamentary caucus reaffirmed its loyalty to and confidence in the party leader. There was renewed dissension in the latter part of the year, however, following a decision by the Cape head committee to expel five prominent reformist party members.

Mr. Harry Schwarz and Mr. R. E. Enthoven visited Chief Patrick Mpephu, Chief Minister of Venda, and a joint statement on points of agreement was issued, in similar terms to the joint statement that was published after the meeting with Dr. Phatudi.[5]

Shortly afterwards, on 27 July, Dr. Phatudi, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Chief Lucas Mangope of BophuthaTswana, Professor H. Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, and a representative of Mr. Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei accepted invitations that had been sent to all homeland leaders to visit Johannesburg for discussions with Sir De Villiers Graaff, members of the U.P. constitutional committee, and other prominent party members. A communiqué was issued in which it was stated that the conference had agreed that a federal system could provide the best means of advancing common interest without fear of one group dominating another. A proviso was added to the effect that such a system must arise from consultation between all concerned, and be based on the recognition of equal opportunity and the right to human dignity. Particular attention was given to the position of urban Africans, and to the need to guarantee an adequate living wage to all who contributed their labour and to provide training facilities to enable workers to improve their productivity. It was agreed that further meetings would be convened.

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[3] i.e. the whole of the Republic outside the African homelands.

[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 and 21 June.

[5] Mr. Phatudi was awarded an Hon. Doctorate by the University of the North.

Speaking on behalf of his fellow homeland leaders at a banquet held that evening, Chief Buthelezi is reported [6] to have said, "It is ridiculous that even last year, consultations such as we have just had . . . were considered a risky business . . . We did not come here in the hope that we would solve all the problems of this land, and we have not yet done so. But I do think that a lot of ground was covered to-day in creating an understanding as to how the Black man sees the problems of this land."

A meeting of the U.P. parliamentary caucus held on 20 June approved certain suggestions that had been made by Sir De Villiers during a by-election campaign, and elaborated on these. According to reports [7] it was agreed that party policy should aim at the removal, within the federal framework, of discrimination on the basis of colour alone, while allowing for personal choice. The provisions of the Immorality Act should be re-examined. Job reservation was rejected. Africans should have the right to own and operate industrial and commercial enterprises in the areas where they lived. The aims and aspirations of the Coloured people should be identified with those of the Whites.

Speaking in the House of Assembly on 5 August [8], Sir De Villiers moved "That this House censures the Government for its failure timeously to amend and adapt its policies to meet the challenges of a changing world". In the course of his speech he dealt with several developments of and changes in U.P. policy.

The Coloured people, he said, had totally rejected separate development.[9] They had become disillusioned and alienated. Change was urgent. The U.P. would work towards bringing the White and Coloured groups closer together. In terms of U.P. policy there was freedom, "if it is the eventual desire of both the White and the Coloured communities, to merge their rights and interests to the extent that both communities agree and to share power within a single legislative assembly".

Government policy was even more unacceptable to the urban African, who was the flashpoint in South African race relations. Homeland leaders co-operated with the Government only because they had no other alternative, Sir De Villiers maintained.

The U.P. stood for free and compulsory schooling for all races, he said. It rejected job reservation, and accepted the logical consequence that some Whites might have to work under the direction of Blacks (something that was already happening). African workers were a permanent, integrated part of the S.A.

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[6] *Sunday Times*, 28 July.

[7] e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 June.

[8] Hansard 1 cols. 27—50.

[9] Developments that had occurred in the Coloured Persons' Representative Council are described later

economic machinery. The U.P. would recognize them as "employees" and give them the full protection of the Industrial Conciliation Act. That meant the recognition of African trade unions, or racially mixed unions including Africans: in general the U.P. did not favour separate unions because experience elsewhere in Africa had shown that these became vulnerable to political agitators; but such organizational matters could safely be left in the hands of the existing trade union movement.[10]

Sir De Villiers was severely critical of the Government's handling of racial affairs in South West Africa and of its negotiations with the United Nations.

When replying to the debate on his motion, on 9 August [11], Sir De Villiers supported remarks made earlier by Mr. M. L. Mitchell, M.P.,[12] saying that it might well happen, in terms of the U.P. federal policy, that this system would eventually prove itself to all population groups, including the Whites. The White Parliament might reach a stage where it believed that it was *functus officio*, and that there was no point in its continuing to insist on its dominance. The federal assembly envisaged by the U.P. would not be a super parliament: its powers would be such that no group would dominate another.

Speaking in the Assembly on 26 October, Sir De Villiers urged the Government to create a multi-racial consultative body. (Hansard 12 cols. 6541–2.)

Progressive Party

During the weeks following the general election and preceding the opening of Parliament P.P. leaders travelled widely to meet leading Black personalities in S.A. and other African territories. Mrs. Helen Suzman had discussions with prominent Africans in a number of urban areas. Three of the other M.P.'s Mr. Colin W. Eglin (the Party leader), Mr. Rupert J. Lorimer, and Professor F. van Zyl Slabbert, individually met homeland leaders including Professor H. Ntsanwisi, Dr. Cedric Phatudi, Chief Lucas Mangope, Mr. Lennox Sebe, and Chief George Matanzima (then Acting Chief Minister of the Transkei). Three of these homeland leaders together with three prominent Coloured and Indian personalities of Johannesburg accepted invitations to attend the P.P.'s Transvaal congress. This congress approved a declaration that S.A. would live in peace only when all races enjoyed equal opportunity, and that all should be entitled to a meaningful say in the bodies that governed their lives.[13]

Besides this, Mrs. Suzman and Mr. Eglin met Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana and his Vice-President; Mr. Eglin had discussions with Chief Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho and other Cabinet Ministers there; and Mrs. Suzman and Mr. Ray Swart (the national chairman of the P.P.) visited the Prime Minister of Swaziland, Prince Makhosini Dlamini, and some of his Ministers. Mr. Rupert Lorimer went to Rhodesia, where he met members of the Cabinet and also the A.N.C. president, Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

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[10] Sir De Villiers used the word "Black" to signify "Africans", but the latter term is substituted here to avoid confusion. See page 8.

[11] Hansard 1 cols. 451–2.

[12] Col 80.

[13] *Star*, 27 July

Mr. Eglin and Professor Van Zyl Slabbert then toured Zambia, Malawi, Tanzania, Kenya, and Nigeria, having discussions with the heads of state in these countries. Visits were paid, too to Ghana and Senegal. After their return Mr. Eglin is reported [14] to have said that the leaders of all the states visited had emphasized that they were not opposed to Whites or to South Africa *per se*, but were strongly opposed to the system of race discrimination. All accepted the philosophy of the Lusaka Manifesto.[15] They were aware of the fears of minority groups. The leaders were not attempting to impose solutions on S.A., nor to set a timetable for change. But there could be no dialogue between them and S.A. until the S.A. Government gave some genuine indication of a shift away from racial discrimination.

Speaking in the Assembly on 6 August [16] during the motion of censure, Mr. Eglin accused the Government of having no policy to resolve the conflicts and tensions in the S.A. society. Indeed, he said, the Government appeared to be heading straight for increased conflict and tension. During the Budget debate,[17] Mr. Eglin talked of South Africa's isolation from the rest of the continent and of impressions that members of the P.P. had gained during their visits to various states. Leaders of these states, he said, saw in enforced apartheid the same rejection of themselves as individuals as existed in a colonial era. But this attitude should not be equated with communism. He believed that the Republic should again fashion a positive strategy towards Africa.

VERLIGTE ACTION

The formation of the group called Verligte Action was described on page 12 of last year's *Survey*. The object was to create an action group on an across-the-party basis in order to mobilise enlightened opinion to facilitate change.

During March the national chairman, Professor Willem A. Joubert, is reported [18] to have associated himself openly with a United Party candidate in the elections. The director resigned his position in order to support the U.P. Thereupon two founder members, Dr. C. J. Alant and Professor Franz Maritz, resigned from the movement in protest.

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[14] *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 July; *Sunday Times*, 28 July.
[15] See 1969 *Survey*, page 78.
[16] Hansard 1 col. 135 *et seq*
[17] Assembly, 22 August, Hansard 3 cols. 1251—60.
[18] *Star*, 6 March; *Sunday Express*, 17 March.

A new multi-racial executive committee was elected at a special meeting, under the acting national chairmanship of Mr. Johan Kriegler. This committee issued a Press statement to the effect that Verligte Action as such would continue its non-involvement in party politics, although its members could belong to various political parties. The movement would pursue its ideal of a society in which the dignity of all people would be recognized.

THE COLOURED POPULATION GROUP

Views of the major Coloured political parties as expressed early in the year

The Federal Party's policy has been to co-operate with the Government in matters that members consider will promote the interests of their people, but to press for eventual equality with Whites. During April, however, the party's Transvaal congress took matters further. Congress declared[1] that the Coloured Representative Council[2] (CRC) would never satisfy the aspirations of the Coloured people, and should be abolished. The only logical alternative to this Council was direct representation in Parliament by Coloured M.P.s.

The Government-appointed chairman of the CRC's Executive Committee and leader of the Federal Party, Mr. Tom Swartz, is reported to have commented that when he met the Prime Minister during 1973 he had conveyed to him a resolution of the Council calling for full citizenship for the Coloured people. The resolutions of the party's Transvaal congress were a spelling-out of the Federal Party's attitude, but would not become formal party policy unless and until they were endorsed by the party's national congress, he added.

Following a national congress of the Labour Party held later in April its leader, Mr. Sonny Leon, said that his party would settle for nothing less than total and direct representation of Coloured people in Parliament.[3]

Proceedings of the Session of the CRC held in July

As mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*, in the 1969 CRC elections the Labour Party won a majority of the 40 elected seats. However, the 20 members nominated by the Government were Federal Party members or supporters, giving this party a majority in the Council. Early in 1974 the strength of the parties represented in the CRC was F.P. 30, L.P. 26, and others and independants 4.

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[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 April, and other Press reports.

[2] The official name of this body, not now often used in practice, is the Coloured Persons' Representative Council.

[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 April.

At the commencement of the session of the CRC held during July, Mr. Sonny Leon introduced a motion to the effect that the Council had no confidence in the policy of separate development and all institutions established under this policy, including the CRC itself. The motion called for direct representation for Coloured people in Parliament and in all the councils of the nation, voting on the common roll, as a prelude to the enfranchisement of all South Africans. Mr. Leon commented that the purpose of the Labour Party in serving on the CRC was to expose the ineffectuality of this Council. Speaking in support of the motion the party's deputy leader, Mr. David Curry, warned White South Africa that the question of full citizenship for the Coloured people would be pursued continuously.[4]

An amendment was moved by Mr. Jac A. Rabie, deputy-chairman of the CRC's Executive and Transvaal leader of the Federal Party. It was to the effect that the separate institutions set up by the Government should be retained until Coloured people, on a separate voter's roll, obtained direct representation in Parliament. He would like to see 60 Coloured M.P.'s and 60 Coloured M.P.C.'s., he said, who would together form an electoral college to elect Coloured representatives to the Senate. He saw the recommendations as a first step towards proportional representation for Coloured people. The most practicable time to make the change would be in 1979, when the CRC was to become a fully elected body. Mr. Rabie urged that it was important to keep the Council functioning until then, as it at least gave Coloured people a place to voice their grievances, and it kept the Coloured Community politically organized.[5]

Mr. Tom Swartz is reported[6] to have stated that he condemned separate development and opposed discrimination. Nevertheless there had been some progress under the system, for example in the field of education. Coloured people had the right to ask for increased political power, but their economic position was even more important. He had decided not to support Mr. Rabie's amendment, and also not to vote against the Labour Party's motion. At the conclusion of the debate, Mr. Swartz abstained from voting and left the Council chamber.

Several other Federal Party members abstained from voting or crossed the floor, with the result that the Labour Party's motion was carried by 29 votes to 25.

In a Press interview,[7] Mr. Leon then called for the immediate resignation of the Council's executive committee and for an urgent demand to be made to the Government for full political rights for Coloured people. Mr. Swartz announced[8] that his kecutive would ask for a meeting with the Prime Minister and the linister of Coloured Relations as soon as possible. (As decided in 971, the executive committee, together with other Council iembers who may be invited, constitutes a liaison committee etween the Council and the Government.) But Mr. Leon eplied [9] that his party, which had secured a majority vote, should hoose the composition of a delegation to the Government. The aison committee, as constituted, had failed to present the case of ie Coloured people, he added. (The Minister of Coloured elations commented [10] that, in the past, the Labour Party had eclined to participate in meetings with Government epresentatives, including the meeting at which the constitution of ie liaison committee was discussed.)

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[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 July; *Star*, 25 July

[5] *Star*, 23 and 25 July.

[6] *Star*, 24 July.

[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 July

[8] *Star*, 25 July

In the Council on 26 June Mr. Swartz moved the adoption of part appropriation budget. (The main budget could not be ntroduced until after Parliament had voted the necessary funds.) 1r. Leon opposed the motion, describing the CRC budget as part f the Government's discriminatory policy. After a lengthy ebate, during which there were constant interjections and ltercations, Mr. Swartz's motion was defeated. He then moved iat the Council be prorogued. Labour Party members shouted, Abolish, not prorogue". The pandemonium made it impossible or proceedings to be continued, and the chairman adjourned the ouncil until after the weekend.[11]

It was announced that Mr. Swartz would make a formal equest to the Council's Executive to approve the part ppropriation budget. (In terms of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council Amendment Act, 1972, if the Council fails o appropriate moneys for the services it controls the Executive nay do so, and this action will be deemed to have been taken by ie Council. Should the Executive fail to appropriate moneys, the 1inister of Coloured Relations may do so, and, again, his action ill be deemed to have been a Council decision.)

On the following Monday, Mr. Swartz moved that in view of ie vote of no confidence in separate development and the call for ie abolition of the Council, this body should adjourn until it was rorogued. Mr. Leon stated that his party would not support a roroguing of the Council until "the people's business" had been ealt with, and moved an amendment that the Council should emain in session until it otherwise decided. This amendment was arried by 30 votes to 28. Mr. Swartz then led a walk-out of ederal Party members. He said that they would return only to sten to a statement from the Minister proroguing the Council.[12]

Such a statement was read at the commencement of the next

Ibid, and *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 July
Star, 25 July
Rand Daily Mail, 27 July; *Sunday Express*, 28 July
Rand Daily Mail and *Star*, 30 July

day's proceedings. The Minister said in a Press statement [13] that he was taking this action at Mr. Swartz's request, since it appeared that a situation of stalemate had been reached in the functioning of the Council.

Mr. Leon declined a proposal by Mr. Swartz that a joint deputation should seek an interview with the Prime Minister. Instead, the Opposition parties sent a telegram to the Prime Minister, asking him as a matter of urgency to receive a delegation from among their ranks to discuss the crisis in the Council.

Mr. Leon revealed later [14] that the Prime Minister had sent for him, and, in the presence of the Minister of Coloured Relations and Mr. Swartz, had offered him the position of chairman of the CRC's Executive, should Mr. Swartz resign. Mr. Leon had replied that he held certain principles and would not "sell" his people.

All that was publicly announced at the time was that the Prime Minister had agreed to meet a delegation from the opposition parties in the CRC.

Opinions expressed by members of the Government

In the Assembly on 9 August, the Prime Minister said [15] that, if there were shortcomings in the CRC or the liaison committee, these would have to be remedied. The Coloured leaders had themselves proposed the liaison in its existing form. He had said at the time that this form of liaison might have to be reviewed [16], but thus far the Coloured people had not called for any other type of machinery.

At a congress of the National Party held in South West Africa while the CRC was in session the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie P. Mulder, stated that while his party was in power in the Republic the Coloured people would never be represented in Parliament, either directly or indirectly. The policy for the Coloured was parallel development, as distinct from separate development. Parallel lines would never meet even if they were "extended into infinity".[17] Dr. Mulder re-emphasized these remarks in the Assembly on 8 August,[18] and said that Coloured people would attain self-realization within the framework of multi-nationality, and not on the basis of integration.

Speaking in the Assembly on 23 August,[19] Mr. Piet S. Marais said that the voices of Brown people would increasingly be heard. Points of contact between White and Brown South Africans would have to be greatly augmented. Mr. Marais stated that among the

[13] *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 July.
[14] *Star*, 11 September.
[15] Hansard 1 cols. 424-7.
[16] See 1971 *Survey*, page 16.
[17] *Star*, 24 July.
[18] Hansard 1 cols. 304-5.
[19] Hansard 3 cols. 1330-3.

questions that would have to be faced was whether it was conceivable that a parliament for the Coloured, whatever form it took, would always be satisfied with a position subordinate to that of the White parliament.

Meeting of the Prime Minister and representatives of the Coloured opposition parties

On 19 August there was a four hour meeting between the Prime Minister, the Minister of and the Secretary for Coloured Relations, the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs, and the Secretary of the CRC, on the one hand, and, on the other, six members of the Labour Party and three cross-benchers, led by Mr. Sonny Leon.

Thereafter, the Prime Minister issued a Press statement.[20] The talks had been conducted in a friendly spirit, he said. He had said that he was not prepared to accept the CRC's motion calling for the abolition of the Council and direct representation of Coloured people in Parliament. He had no assurance that the motion to this effect was the expressed wish of the majority of Coloured people.

Mr. Vorster had defended Dr. Connie Mulder's stand on the political future of the Coloured, saying that the latter had merely stated Government policy as it still stood.

The granting of parliamentary representation to the Coloured people would lead to friction, the Prime Minister had maintained. In the past the parliamentary vote had been exploited by political parties for their own ends and not to the advantage of the Coloured. He believed that the future of the Coloured people lay in the use and development of the CRC with extended powers. He was not prepared to abolish the rights that had been granted to the Coloured community under this system. He believed that two parliaments could function in one land, and he foresaw a statutory body consisting of members of the White and of the Coloured parliaments.

The Prime Minister said that he would call another meeting to which members of all political parties in the CRC would be invited.

Mr. Leon, too, made statements to the Press [21]. The Labour Party would use the CRC elections to be held on 19 March 1975 to obtain a mandate from the people for full parliamentary representation, he said, and for the rejection of separate development and the CRC. The Labour Party would never cease campaigning for equal rights in all spheres. It would have to be accepted that, in the short term, nothing but parallel development in the political sphere could be expected from the present Government. Thus, his party's immediate programme would be to press for socio-economic parity, the priorities being social conditions, housing, education, and employment opportunities. In the long term, however, the Government and the Coloured people were on a collision course. The Labour Party had plans, which it would not yet disclose, for a new line of action following the CRC elections.

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[20] e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 August.

[21] *Ibid.* 20, 21, and 23 August and 11 September.

Offer made by Sir De Villiers Graaff

The Prime Minister was to meet an all-party Coloured delegation on 5 September. On the eve of this meeting Sir De Villiers Graaff announced [22] that the U.P. believed vigorously that its federal policy would solve S.A.'s race problems. But the U.P., being in opposition, was not in a position to implement its policies. The position was so urgent that a way must be found to establish means whereby the voice of the Coloured people might be heard in close and continuous consultation.

While the Nationalists maintained a unitary form of government there was no honest alternative to direct Coloured representation in Parliament, Sir De Villiers maintained. However, if the Prime Minister and the Coloured people could find some solution that satisfied the broad mass of these people, if they could reach consensus, the U.P. would give its full support. Its first concern would not be whether the suggested solution fitted in with the U.P.policy, but whether it was in the interests of South Africa.

Meeting of the Prime Minister and an all-party Coloured delegation

A four-hour discussion took place in Cape Town between the Prime Minister, the Minister and the Deputy Minister of Coloured Relations, and a 20-man delegation representing all the Coloured parties in the CRC and the independents.

According to a statement issued thereafter by the Department of Information,[23] "The Prime Minister put it clearly and unequivocally that he had never intentionally misled anyone, and therefore had to make it clear that Government policy, based on the mandate given to it by the electorate, did not allow for Coloureds to sit in Parliament . . . Only a congress could change the policy of parallel development. Should such a congress decide that current policy . . . be changed, the Government would do it immediately . . .

"If Parliament rejected direct representation for Coloureds in that body, the political leaders of White and Brown must . . . gather regularly in future at a round table to discuss common problems.

"The Prime Minister indicated:

"(a) that there were specific areas in which the interests of the

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[22] *Star*, 5 September.

[23] *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 September.

Coloureds were dominant, and should accordingly be managed entirely by the Coloured Representative Council;

"(b) that there were similarly specific areas in which the interests of the Whites were dominant, and had to be handled exclusively by the White Parliament;

"(c) that there were areas affecting the mutual interests of both White and Brown in which the Coloured should also have a say on matters affecting Coloured interests.

"Further consultation could take place on methods of jointly reasoning on matters of common interest. It could, for example, take place in a statutory consultative body . . . or a consultative Cabinet council with both Coloured and White members . . .

"The Prime Minister indicated that the powers of the Coloured Representative Council could be jointly reviewed to make the body more meaningful. But it was of cardinal importance at this stage that Coloured leaders co-operated to make the CRC a truly positive instrument . . . (It) should not be condemned after five years, but should be adjusted, expanded, and given a chance to prove itself. Changes and adjustments could, however, not take place overnight . . . Furthermore, the position of the Indian population group also came into reckoning and should be considered in any decisions . . .

"The Prime Minister indicated that the (Theron) Commission was making a thorough investigation of the broad field of Coloured development and its report should be mutually discussed by White as well as Brown leaders."

Mr. Tom Swartz is reported [24] to have said after the meeting that the Coloured were as far away as ever from their major aim—political and economic parity with the Whites. However, as a result of the discussions, the right of the Coloured people to be involved in various statutory bodies had been recognized, which was a definite gain. Contact and dialogue should be continued.

Mr. Leon took a different view.[25] The discussions, he said, amounted to complete rejection of the Coloured people. Nothing had been spelled out satisfactorily. "I am not interested in further window-dressing talks with the Prime Minister . . . We now have no alternative but to go to those people whose arms are open to us—the Black people of South Africa". A few weeks later, Mr. Leon rejected an invitation to meet the Minister of Coloured Relations for further discussions.

Term of office of the Coloured Representative Council

The Coloured Persons' Representative Council Act, 1964, provided that the Council should continue for five years from the date of its first meeting. The Second General Law Amendment Act,

[24] *Ibid.* 6 and 7 September.

[25] *Ibid.* and *Star*, 6 September

No. 94 of 1974, amended this by adding that the Council may at any time be dissolved by the State President by proclamation in the *Gazette*.

The Prime Minister's proposals for the future

When opening the final session of the CRC for the year, on 8 November, the Prime Minister again rejected Coloured representation in the White Parliament. Instead, he proposed that the CRC Executive should be developed to Cabinet status. The administration of Coloured Affairs should be reorganized into separate departments (or directorates), each under the authority of a member of the Cabinet.

The White Parliament would continue to be sovereign in S.A., Mr. Vorster stated, nevertheless Coloured people must be given a say in matters mutually affecting White and Coloured. The present liaison committee between the Government and the CRC might perhaps be transformed into a consultative Cabinet Council under the Prime Minister's chairmanship, consisting of the CRC Cabinet and an equal number of Ministers from the White Cabinet: this proposal would be a matter for mutual discussion.

Where it was held that the Act establishing the CRC was too restrictive and did not provide sufficiently for full self-determination, then the law should be changed, the Prime Minister continued. The matters of providing sufficient funds for the CRC, and of whether the Coloured people received funds in relation to their contribution to S.A., were already being investigated.

The Government was willing to appoint Coloured people to bodies, councils, and commissions dealing with matters of mutual concern, such as the Group Areas Board, the Housing Commission, the Liquor Board, the Wage Board, the Road Safety Council, and the Race Classification Board.

Session of the Council held in November

At the commencement of a second session of the Council, on 11 November, Mr. Tom Swartz became seriously ill and had to retire.

The Labour Party moved that the direction for future development of the Coloured people, as indicated by the Prime Minister, be rejected. After a tie in voting the acting chairman exercised his casting vote against this motion.

The session ended in confusion, with the Labour Party threatening to take legal action to invalidate the final day's proceedings.

Budget of the Coloured Representative Council

According to the Republic's Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for the year ending 31 March 1975[26], the following sums were allocated to the CRC from the vote of the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs [27]:

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[26] R.P. 2/1974, Vote 39, Pages 282 *et sec* and R.P. 6/1974.

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Provisions for the CRC	132 993 000
Salaries of 1 292 educational personnel seconded to the CRC	6 475 000

Expenditure on the University of the Western Cape is not included in these figures.

The Theron Commission

The appointment of the (Theron) Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group, and its terms of reference, were described on page 16 of last year's *Survey*. It has 14 White and 6 Coloured members. During the year under review the Commission has toured Coloured areas of the Republic, and has sent a detailed questionnaire to more than 4 000 Coloured people selected so that they included an effective cross-section of the population. *Inter alia*, the respondents were asked to choose between ten different political directions, to place in order of importance a range of restrictive measures, and to give their views on the most urgent problems to which the Government should give attention. The Commission's report may be completed during the second half of 1975.

THE INDIAN GROUP

Mr. J. N. Reddy succeeded the late Mr. A. M. Rajab as chairman of the executive committee of the S.A. Indian Council as constituted in terms of Act 31 of 1968. Mr. H. E. Joosub remained chairman of the Council itself until November, when he declined to stand for re-election.

The Council met on several occasions during the first half of the year under review. Representations were made to the Government in respect of various proclamations and proposals for group areas. The Council urged, *inter alia*, that the Cato Manor area of Durban be restored to Indians. Recommendations were made on appreciation contributions payable in terms of the Group Areas Act, the provision of amenities including school accommodation in Indian areas and the need for trading and industrial sites, especially at Chatsworth in Durban, the desirability of a review of income levels for economic and sub-economic housing, and the basis for subsidies payable in respect of school boarding fees and transport costs. Reports were made to the Council on free dental treatment to be made available to indigent school children in the larger towns of Natal, and on the poor response received to a new course of training young men as agricultural advisers. The Council made representations on the admission of wives and intended brides into the Republic, pressing for a relaxation of restrictions.

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[27] Since renamed the Department of Coloured, Rehoboth, and Nama Relations.

The life of this Council, which had advisory powers only, expired at the end of August. In terms of Proclamation R167 of 3 September, the re-constituted Council would consist of 30 members[1], half of them nominated and half elected by persons who on the election day were elected members of Indian local authorities, local affairs committees, management committees, and consultative committees.[2] Ten members would be elected from Natal, four from the Transvaal, and one from the Cape. It was officially announced that the elections would take place on 3 November. Legislative and executive powers would gradually be delegated to this Council in respect of matters previously dealt with by the Minister of Indian Affairs (but not matters dealt with by this Minister in conjunction with other Cabinet Ministers). Such matters included education and community welfare.

Mr. Joosub said in a Press interview[3] that Indians would not be satisfied with such limited powers. They would eventually have to be given a real say in the running of the country. Indians were opposed, too, to the method of election that had been decided upon. A voters' roll should have been prepared. The Government had claimed, however, that the compilation of such a roll had not been possible because many Indians were still living outside proclaimed Indian group areas.

The Indian Management Committee of Lenasia (Johannesburg) decided that it would boycott the elections. It passed a resolution stating that the constitution of the Council and the method of elections were considered to be an affront to the dignity and the citizenship rights of the Indian people. Members of the Management Committee (which was fully-elected) served on this body, not out of faith in separate development, but out of deep concern for the welfare and well-being of people who were denied purposeful participation in government. They believed firmly in the inherent capacity of all the racial groups to contribute fully to the development of a multi-racial South Africa.[4]

POLITICAL AFFAIRS OF AFRICANS

Meeting of homeland leaders with the Prime Minister

The summit meeting of African homeland leaders that took place in Umtata on 8 November 1973 was described on page 164 of

[1] The previous Council had 25 nominated members.
[2] See 1973 *Survey*, page 126.
[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 September.
[4] *Star*, 14 August.

last year's *Survey*. It was decided, *inter alia*, that the leaders would seek an interview with senior Cabinet Ministers.

The Prime Minister agreed to meet those leaders in Pretoria on 6 March. All eight homeland leaders attended. With the Prime Minister were the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and his two Deputy Ministers. Following an eight-hour meeting, a joint statement was issued [1] in which it was reported that eight main matters had been discussed "in a spirit of goodwill". In each case the discussion was led by homeland leaders, who agreed that they had been given every opportunity to state their views frankly. The matters discussed were as described below.

1. The meaning of independence was raised. Homeland leaders were reminded that they were free to request independence talks. They emphasized that they were not happy with the allocation of land in terms of the 1936 Act; but the Prime Minister stated that he was bound by this Act and that the Government would not go beyond its provisions. Mr. Vorster forecast negotiations between the White and homeland governments and between homeland governments themselves on the exchange of White and Black areas. He emphasized that the first priority was to use the existing land to its fullest extent.
2. Homeland leaders pressed for the consolidation of their respective areas. They agreed that the present government had done more than had previous governments in this respect, and in the purchase of land. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the Government had decided to expedite land purchase and to make considerably more money available for this purpose.
3. There was a wide-ranging discussion on racial discrimination. While not pressing for the complete abolition of regulations ordering the day-to-day life of Black and White, the homeland leaders requested a reconsideration of existing rules and regulations. The Prime Minister agreed to consider memoranda which these leaders might submit to him from time to time, and he emphasized that regulations which had no bearing on the avoidance of racial friction ought to go.
4. The wage gap and the revenue and expenditure of homelands was discussed. It was agreed that the Prime Minister would appoint an expert, to be joined by an expert nominated by the homeland leaders, to investigate the allegation that the Bantu people in general and the homeland governments in particular were not getting a fair share of services from taxes paid directly and indirectly by the Bantu. The two men appointed would nominate a third expert to assist in the investigation.

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[1] The full text was published in the *Rand Daily Mail* on 7 March. The terminology used in the statement is followed in the summary of it that is given here.

Homeland leaders requested the Government to devise ways and means of closing the gap in salaries paid to different racial groups in S.A. The Prime Minister reiterated that it was Government policy to decrease the gap.

5. On the questions of the position of the urban Bantu and Black businessmen in urban areas the conference agreed, in view of the shortage of time, that a second meeting be held later in the year and that a full day be set aside for discussion on this subject.
6. Homeland leaders proposed that the medium of instruction used in schools in the homelands should also be used in Bantu schools in the White areas. At the Prime Minister's suggestion, it was agreed that the Minister would look into the matter and report at the next meeting on the legal, constitutional, and educational aspects of the proposal.
7. The leaders recommended that pass and influx control regulations be phased out. It was felt that, in order to find a satisfactory solution to this "vexing problem", special machinery for negotiation should be set up consisting of the homeland leaders and the Government.
8. Homeland leaders considered that remaining government departments not yet under their control should be transferred to them in preparation for independence. The Prime Minister said that the matter was one for discussion between the Minister and the homeland concerned, and added that certain departments could be established only after independence.

It was decided that future discussions could be held either at the request of the homeland leaders or of the Prime Minister.

Black People's Convention

The founding of the Black People's Convention, and its aims, were described on page 28 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*. As mentioned on pages 22 and 82 of the 1973 issue, during that year the national organizer was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on being found guilty of participating in terrorist activities, and all the other office-bearers except for the then national president, Mrs. Winnifred Kgware, were served by the Government with orders of restriction (banning orders).

The Convention's second annual congress was held at St. Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal, during December 1973. Elections of office-bearers were conducted behind closed doors, and the names of the new office-bearers were not announced. It was, however, reported that Mrs. Kgware was not amongst them. A subsequent report[2] stated that the new national president was Mr. N. Farisani, a theological student at St. Peter's.

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[2] *Star* 19 August

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS AND RELATED MATTERS

THE BACKGROUND

The appointment of the (Schlebusch) Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organizations and its terms of reference were described on pages 24 *et seq* of last year's *Survey*. Briefly, the Commission was required to investigate the objects, organization, financing, and activities of the University Christian Movement, the National Union of S.A. Students (Nusas), the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, and any related organizations, bodies, committees, or groups of persons. It was to inquire into the direct or indirect results of any activities it investigated, and into any related matter which came to its notice.

The procedure adopted at sittings of the Commission was outlined last year, as were the contents of its first three interim reports, which were:

1. Report recommending the establishment of a permanent, statutory Parliamentary Commission on Internal Security;
2. First interim report on Nusas;
3. Report on the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre.

Arising from these reports and from the Government's suspicions in regard to certain organizations, the Affected Organizations Bill was introduced in the Assembly during February.

AFFECTED ORGANIZATIONS ACT, NO. 31 OF 1974

Reasons for introduction of the measure

When introducing the Affected Organizations Bill at its Second Reading in the Assembly [1] the Deputy Minister of Justice said that interference by foreign countries on the internal political scene was universally condemned. Foreign financial assistance for the furtherance of any particular political view was also undesirable. The Prohibition of Political Interference Act, 1968, prohibited political parties from receiving money for political purposes from outside the Republic. But there were various organizations in S.A. which were active in the extra-parliamentary political field, in co-operation with foreign organizations and people that were trying in this way to achieve their own political ends. They provided not only ideological guidance and foreign propaganda, but also financial assistance. Large sums of money were regularly sent openly to various S.A. organizations, and it was seen to that the money was spent in accordance with the wishes of the overseas donors.

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[1] 22 February, Hansard 3 (Fourth Parliament) cols. 1614-6

These donors were often people who supported armed terrorist aggression against S.A. with the one hand, and, with the other, brought ideological and financial influence to bear on S.A.'s internal political scene. The Republic defended its borders against political aggression. It must also prevent foreign financial interference in its domestic political affairs.

Terms of the Act

An organization may be declared by the State President to be an affected organization if it is deemed by him that politics are being engaged in, by or through the organization, with the aid of or in co-operation or consultation with or under the influence of an organization or person abroad.

If the Minister of Justice has reason to suspect that the objects or activities of any organization, or of any person who takes part in its activities directly or indirectly, are such that the organization should be declared to be an affected organization, he may appoint a person, termed an authorized officer, to inquire into the objects and activities of the organization or persons concerned. This officer will have wide powers to enter premises, examine and seize documents, and question persons. It will be an offence to obstruct him in the performance of his functions. Maximum penalties on conviction are R600 or one year's imprisonment or both.

An organization will not be declared to be an affected organization unless the Minister of Justice has considered a factual report in relation to it made by a committee of three magistrates, of whom at least one must be a chief magistrate or a regional magistrate.

If the State President does then declare the organization to be an affected organization, it will become an offence to ask for foreign money on its behalf, or to receive or in any way deal with such money or cause it to be brought into the Republic with the intention that it be used on the organization's behalf.

Foreign money in the possession of an organization before it was declared to be an affected organization may, within one year after the declaration, be donated to a registered welfare organization designated by the Minister for use in the furtherance of the objects in respect of which it is registered, or donated to any other organization approved by the Minister.

The Minister may appoint a Registrar of Affected Organizations. He, or anyone acting under his written authority, will have powers similar to those of an authorized officer, and the penalties on conviction for obstructing him in the exercise of his powers are the same.

- The Registrar may fix a financial year in respect of an affected organization. After the close of this year he will report to the Minister on the moneys that the organization received and paid out during this period. If he suspects that any money is foreign money received or being dealt with in contravention of the provisions of the Act he may lodge an affidavit to this effect with the registrar of a division of the Supreme Court. This registrar will then issue an order prohibiting any person from disposing of the money in any manner except in accordance with a Supreme Court order. If the person in control of this money satisfies the court that the money is not being dealt with in contravention of the Act, the court may make any order it deems fit. Otherwise, the money will be confiscated in favour of the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

No minimum penalty was laid down for persons convicted of a contravention of the provisions relating to foreign money. Maximum penalties are, on a first conviction, R10 000 or five years or both, and on a second or subsequent conviction, R20 000 or ten years or both.

Parliamentary debate

The opening speaker for the U.P., Mr. M. L. Mitchell, said [2] it was a remarkable state of affairs that the Bill should be introduced at a time when the (Schlebusch) Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organizations had for some two years been investigating the subject matter of the Bill in respect of four organizations, and when the final reports on two of the organizations had been submitted to the Government but not tabled in Parliament. Certain members of the Assembly had been placed in an invidious and an impossible position, for they were unable to speak freely on the terms of the measure.

At the time of the appointment of the Commission (then a Select Committee), Mr. Mitchell said, the Prime Minister had stated that it would be for Parliament, after receiving the reports, to decide whether there was anything wrong with the organizations and their finances, and, if there was, to take action.

Mr. Mitchell moved as an amendment to omit all the words after "That" and to substitute "this House, while totally opposed to political interference in South African affairs from abroad and to the receipt by politically activist organizations within the Republic of financial assistance from abroad, declines to pass the Second Reading of the Affected Organizations Bill until the final report of the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organizations relating to the National Union of South African Students, which was handed to the Government last year, and the said

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[2] Cols. 1616-32

Commission's final report on the South African Institute of Race Relations, both of which are expected to deal with the subject matter of the Bill, have been tabled".

The Prime Minister stated[3] that the two reports to which Mr. Mitchell referred had been fairly recently received, were in one official language only, and were being translated. They were irrelevant to the subject of the Bill, which did not deal with specific organizations, but dealt in general with an evil—the evil that Nusas and other front organizations for overseas communists and leftists were being financed from overseas sources which sought the downfall of South Africa. The Schlebusch Commission's published second interim report, on Nusas,[4] gave all the information that Parliament needed to come to a decision about the undesirability of the use of foreign funds for political purposes, the Prime Minister maintained. The Bill had, in fact, been drafted before the final report on Nusas had been received by the Government. He had made no promise that there would be no legislation pending the publication of the Commission's final reports.

Sir De Villiers Graaff (U.P.)[5] quoted the Commission as having said, in its second interim report, that it had "collected a great deal of essential and useful information that may be of great assistance to Parliament and other bodies . . . The same foreign organizations and other organizations similar to those financing Nusas are also financing other organizations in South Africa. Some of these organizations are mentioned in your Commission's terms of reference and others not." It was important, Sir De Villiers maintained, that Parliament should see the Commission's further reports and its recommendations before proceeding with legislation. What case had the Prime Minister made for rushing the Bill through, he asked. What dangers had suddenly appeared?[6]

Sir De Villiers emphasized that there was no clear definition in the Bill of what "being engaged in politics" meant. The Bill laid down no guidelines for the Minister to follow. Every Minister who from time to time administered the measure might have different criteria. Parliament would not see the factual reports by three magistrates, and would have no control. He gave examples of circumstances in which a decision might be open to question. *Inter alia*, would a church that received money from abroad be regarded as engaging in politics if one of its parsons frequently preached political sermons? "There are various organizations in South Africa which do wonderful research work", he continued. "If they publish the results of their research and that research shows that they should undertake or suggest reforms in a certain direction, is that going to be regarded as being engaged in politics?"

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[3] Hansard 4 cols. 1830-42.

[4] See 1973 *Survey*, page 26.

[5] Cols. 1844-51.

[6] A late-night sitting of the Assembly was held to enable the Bill to be taken through all stages before Parliament adjourned.

Mrs. Helen Suzman (P.P.) moved [7] that the Bill be read that day six months. She pointed out that almost every aspect of life in South Africa had a political content, and that many organizations could fall foul of the measure. The mere fact of being investigated, let alone of being declared an affected organization, could cause funds from within the Republic as well as from overseas to dry up. Under the guise of stopping alleged foreign influence in domestic politics, the Government was in fact creating machinery whereby the full powers of the State could be wielded to destroy perfectly innocent organizations and individuals, who had no right of appeal. South Africa was slipping more and more into the control of a growing body of secret men, making secret investigations and reports.

Earlier in the debate Mr. L. le Grange (N.P.), who was deputy chairman of the Schlebusch Commission, had referred to the investigation into Nusas.[8] From the words and actions of its leaders, he said, it was clear that these people were not opposed only to the policy of the Government, but to the whole existing order. They opposed even liberalism as a political approach. They were working towards a polarization between White and Black in South Africa in the political sphere. The ex-president, Mr. Neville Curtis, and others had advocated that students should align themselves with the Blacks.

Without foreign funds, Mr. Le Grange said, Nusas would go bankrupt. These funds came from a variety of foreign organizations, including the World University Service and the International University Exchange Fund. All these organizations, including Nusas, had moved towards the left in about 1970. It was this that had obliged the Prime Minister to come to Parliament and ask for a Select Committee. World University Service liaised with approximately 20 terrorist movements operating in Africa, and had come out openly in support of guerrilla movements. It opposed any government or body that co-operated with South Africa, and was outspoken against the sale of arms to the Republic.

The International University Exchange Fund provided assistance to students who were political refugees. Its work focussed on the goal of "the liberation of African nations still suffering under the rule of colonialism or apartheid", thus it maintained "close contact with all the major liberation organizations in Africa" and received scholarship nominations from them.[9] Funds entering Sout[illegible]rica from these and other organizations were used to pay for the trials of terrorists and of students who broke the law, and for purposes amounting to an overthrow of the existing order in the Republic.

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[7] Cols. 1858-64.

[8] Cols. 1637-40. After August, Mr. Le Grange became chairman of the commission.

[9] Mr. Le Grange was quoting from a publication of the Exchange Fund.

That morning there had been a report that the World Council of Churches had decided to donate another amount, of about R300 000, to support 29 "freedom movements" in Africa and elsewhere, Mr. Le Grange continued. "From where do Wilgespruit and the S.A. Council of Churches, *inter alia*, get their funds," he asked.

Mr. L. G. Murray (U.P.), a member of the Commission, said [10] that he would avail himself of the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act to inform the country of something of what the Schlebusch Commission had done in regard to its final report. There were 30 pages in this report that dealt with the question of how one defined politics. Mr. Murray went on to quote from a unanimous report by the Commission, and from a minority report by the U.P. members (both reports are described later). He then dealt with the Bill before Parliament. It was clear from what he had said that the Commission had concerned itself with the subject matter of this measure, he pointed out. The Commission's recommendations and its report on what constituted political activity should have been referred to a Permanent Commission such as that recommended in the First Interim Report, together with the draft Bill, before this Bill was put before Parliament.

The Bill was passed at its third reading by 97 votes to 41.

On 9 August [11] the Minister of Justice gave a warning that the Government was aware that certain S.A. organizations were "scheming to retain their foreign financial support by devious means". They should not complain afterwards if the Government should take action against them over funds brought into the country in contravention of the spirit of the new Act. The Minister revealed that he had appointed a committee of magistrates which had already reported to him on a number of organizations.

Certain comments on the Affected Organizations Bill

A considerable number of organizations and prominent individuals issued statements dealing with the Affected Organizations Bill and with the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Bill (described later), which was also dealt with by Parliament during February.

On 28 February the General Purposes Committee of the Institute of Race Relations stated[12] that it "deeply deplores the further inroads which the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Bill and the Affected Organizations Bill, when enacted, will make into freedom of association and the extension of powers to the State to interfere, on what appear to be very ill-defined terms, with the functioning of organizations.

[10] Cols. 1872-81.

[11] *Star* report of that date.

[12] RR 30/1974.

"It is surprising, in view of the fact that the Government already has an extensive arsenal of arbitary, repressive and restrictive measures, that it should take further exorbitant powers unto itself.

"The funds which the Institute receives from overseas and local sources are used for lawful and legitimate purposes and the Institute is confident that it will not be classified as an 'affected organization' ".

The S.A. Council of Churches stated [13] that it had no reason to believe that the Affected Organizations Bill would curb its activities. It said, nevertheless, "We view the almost unlimited and vague powers given to the Minister of Justice as frightening. We believe that the 'affected organizations' will include those bodies which are working openly and quite legally for a better and more just society in S.A. and which, because they do not defend or accept the status quo, will be ruthlessly silenced . . . ".

Further statements of protest were issued, *inter alia*, by Nusas and the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre. The Black Sash held demonstrations each weekday during the period when the two Bills were before Parliament.

THE COMMISSION'S FINAL REPORT ON NUSAS

The Schlebusch Commission's Fourth Interim Report,[14] constituting its final report on Nusas, was released on 12 August. It ran to 641 pages. In the account that follows a summary is given of the main recommendations,[15] together with some of the conclusions reached by the Commission which led to the formulation of these recommendations.

In essence, the Commission's case against Nusas was that it was constituted in such a way that it offered an effective power base for a small "leader clique and their fellow-travellers". During the past ten years a Nusas leadership training programme had aimed at producing "student radicals imbued with left-wing views". This training programme had been financed by foreign organizations which were, thereby, promoting their own political aspirations. The small group of radicals (who were not always bona fide students) undertook the political indoctrination of young people in their formative years. They propagated anti-S.A. views and promoted anti-S.A. action. They promoted Black consciousness and favoured a policy based on a polarity of Black and White in S.A., leading to confrontation. Numerous quotations were given from letters and articles written by Nusas leaders to bear out these allegations. The general body of students on the campuses was stated to have had very little knowledge, or only a superficial knowledge, of the activities of the leadership clique,

[13] *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 February.
[14] R.P. 33/1974
[15] Contained in Chapter 20 of the Report.

but through a system of centre affiliations (through the S.R.C.'s rather than individual membership) the leaders found it possible to act in the name of a very large number of students.

Unanimous recommendations

The Commission pointed out that political parties were prevented by law from receiving money from abroad for political purposes. Nusas, it said, was an organization that was active in S.A. politics. It was influenced and supported from abroad in its political activities. Particular mention was made of the World University Service and the International University Exchange Fund, both of which were stated to have had links with liberation movements. The Commission recommended that measures be considered to prevent political activities in S.A. from being supported and influenced by financial help from abroad.

It was convinced by the evidence, the Commission declared, that people and organizations were encouraging arms boycotts against S.A. as part of an attempt to bring about radical change in the existing political order. The Commission was of the opinion that this was a form of subversion of the State, and that steps should be taken to combat it.

Persons who were not bona fide students sometimes registered year after year as students at universities, the Commission stated, and thus gained access to the campuses for purposes other than studying. It recommended that this matter should receive the attention of the Minister concerned and of the university authorities.

The Commission found that Nusas had a political monopoly on some affiliated campuses and attacked the political parties, representing them as contemptible or irrelevant. It recommended that political parties should be allowed to operate on campuses.

It urged that a system of centre affiliation should not be made use of in a political organization such as Nusas.

In several sections of the report it was alleged that Nusas had handled trust funds in an improper manner. Interest-free loans had been made to leaders from trust moneys intended for emergency help to deserving students, and some of this money had not been repaid. Money had been collected from abroad for an education scheme for prisoners convicted of security offences. Some of this money had been paid over to third parties as intermediaries without any certainty that it would reach the beneficiaries. Trust moneys had been mixed freely with other moneys and used together with these. The financial affairs of Nusas were reported to have been in a state of chaos, with books not properly written up, and receipts for disbursements lacking. The Commission recommended that at least the control measures contained in the National Welfare Act of 1965 should be applied to bodies such as Nusas.

The Commission drew attention to the Nusas wages campaign. "No-one can deny", it stated, "that the standard of living of South Africa's working class should be raised so that all will be able to lead a decent life . . . In the case of Nusas' actions, however, certain other considerations came into play . . . Nusas' action in this connection is really a means to another end, and that is political change to overthrow the existing order in South Africa and to replace it with an anti-capitalistic system which has sometimes been described as 'Black socialism'. This has to be brought about by stirring up industrial and labour unrest and by inciting Black and White against each other, by polarising them against each other, and eventually by inciting them to conflict, even violent conflict . . . The possibility of dangerous outbursts must always be borne in mind, and this calls for constant vigilance and readiness for quick action, coupled with sustained imaginative and determined action to eliminate unhealthy economic conditions".

Minority report by the three United Party members of the Commission

The three United Party members of the Schlebusch Commission pointed out, in a minority report, that when the first two interim reports were tabled in Parliament, during 1973, immediate executive action was taken in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act against certain persons referred to in the Second Report, and, subsequently, similar action was taken against various other persons.[16] This was done prior to any decision by Parliament as to the nature of the action, if any, to be taken; and the action taken was not subject to any independent form of review.

The Commissioners made a specific recommendation to Parliament that there should be adequate review by a Judicial Tribunal of all such executive action, taken or contemplated. The Commission's experience had led to the conclusion that to place the responsibility for review of such action upon the proposed permanent Parliamentary Commission on Internal Security would make excessive demands upon the time of Members of Parliament serving on that Commission, thus an alternative proposal was made.

It was stated by the Commissioners that preventative action to forestall contemplated acts (not constituting an attempt to commit an offence) which threatened the security of the State or to subvert the authority of the State was the responsibility of the Government acting through the Executive. But the nature of the Executive action which might be taken, and the circumstances in which such action was justified, must be explicitly detailed by Parliament. Such legislation should ensure that Executive action to restrict the liberty of an individual was taken only in times of war or of national emergency, and then only in specified circumstances, in the interests of the community, and subject to appropriate safeguards.

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[16] The banning orders issued were described on pages 27, 28, 342 and 344 of last year's *Survey*.

To ensure that no injustice was done, steps should be taken, independently of the security agencies, to evaluate evidence given to the Minister. A Judicial Tribunal should be established to carry out this function, consisting of a Judge assisted by two assessors who should be Counsel of not less than ten years' experience or Senior Magistrates. The Tribunal would maintain secrecy when it was in the public interest to do so. It would consider recommendations for Executive action for the Minister's benefit; would review Executive action that might be taken as a matter of interest in the public interest; and would also review any existing restrictions imposed on persons, making recommendations thereon to the Minister.

The seven National Party members serving on the Schlebusch Commission were of the opinion that it was beyond the Commission's terms of reference to express an opinion on the proposal outlined above. It was, they considered, a matter which could fruitfully be considered by the Parliamentary Commission on Internal Security, if such a commission were officially requested to do so.

On 12 August [17] the three United Party Commissioners claimed that they had "unjustly and erroneously" been associated with the banning orders served on the student leaders. They are reported to have said, "As we do not believe in banning without trial, we consider that the banning orders on the 'leadership group' should now be lifted. If the Attorney-General considers, on the information available, that offences have been committed, the appropriate people shoul be brought before the courts".

Parliamentary debate

In the Assembly on 16 August [18] the Prime Minister introduced a special debate on the Schlebusch Commission's Fourth and Fifth Interim Reports. The report on Nusas, he said, had been submitted to the Attorney-General, who would decide whether the findings revealed any criminal offence. Parliament should, however, take note of the Commission's recommendations in regard to the combating of subversion, especially its report on the Nusas wages campaign.

Sir De Villiers Graaff [19] supported the recommendations made by the U.P. members of the Commission. The U.P., he said, had served on the Commission because it was its duty to do so, but he still maintained that a judicial commission would have been preferable to a Parliamentary one. He was glad that there was no suggestion that Nusas itself should be banned; but the report on certain leaders revealed a most unsatisfactory position.

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[17] *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 August
[18] Hansard 2 cols. 829-34
[19] Cols. 835-52

Mrs. Helen Suzman,[20] on behalf of the Progressive Party, moved that the Commission's reports be rejected because they offended against the principle of natural justice that no person shall be deemed guilty save after a fair trial in an open court. The Commission, she said, had acted under rules of procedure which bore no resemblance to natural justice. Its reports represented merely a portion of the record, edited by the prosecution. She asked the Government to request the State President to terminate the Commission forthwith.

Declaration of Nusas as an affected organization

On 13 September the Minister of Justice announced in the Assembly[21] that Nusas, together with its three subsidiary bodies Nused, Nuswel, and Aquarius, had been declared affected organizations, cut off from any foreign financial aid. Proclamations to this effect were published in the *Government Gazette* that day.[22] A Registrar of Affected Organizations was appointed, with offices in Pretoria.

The president-elect of Nusas, Mr. Karel Tip, told the Press[23] that about 70 per cent of the Nusas budget, which was approximately R100 000 in 1973, had been obtained from overseas.

At the request of the U.P., a snap debate was held on this matter in the Assembly on 16 September. Speaking for the U.P., Mr. M. L. Mitchell said[24] that students at the English-language universities were entitled to a body to look after their interests. Most of them had been concerned about the political direction chosen by Nusas leaders. The students must be given the opportunity to stand back and view the happenings of the past, and to restructure Nusas as a legitimate servant of student interests. Mr. Mitchell asked, if Nusas "puts itself in order", whether the Government would consider reviewing the declaration of this body as an affected organization. It was possible that it might need money from abroad for legitimate student welfare.

The Minister of Justice said[25] he agreed with Mr. Mitchell that most of the students had been concerned about the direction taken by Nusas. There were, as yet, no signs that Nusas was changing this direction. However, if there were signs that Nusas had become a purely student body, and was not concerning itself with radical politics of change, the Government would review the declaration.

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[20] Cols. 892-90[illegible]

[21] Hansard 6 col. [illegible]836.

[22] Proclamations R 17[illegible]6, and Government Notice R1662.

[23] *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 September.

[24] Hansard 7 cols. 3059-64.

[25] Cols. 3066-9.

Nusas issued a Press statement in which it said that the move was part of a concerted drive to eliminate opposition to policies of discrimination and domination. "What is being attacked is the right of students, of young people, to determine what is wrong with their society and to embark on creative programmes to counter its ills and to open the possibility for a positive future. These programmes, like literacy training, prison education, and community development, are conceived by students. The funds which are now being denied us have always been raised and spent on our terms". Nusas stated that it would launch a fundraising drive within S.A.

THE SCHLEBUSCH COMMISSION'S REPORT ON THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

The Commission's Fifth Interim Report [1] dealt with the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. In the first chapter the Commission gave a factual account of its investigations, mentioning, *inter alia*, the refusal of four witnesses to testify, and the demonstration by students of the University of the Witwatersrand when members of the Commission visited the Institute's head office.[2]

Offences and penalties under the Commissions Act were compared with the more severe ones prescribed in the Criminal Procedure Act, and the view was expressed that the provisions of the Commissions Act should be revised. It was revealed that there had been a difference of opinion between members of the Commission as to whether cases of refusal to appear or to testify should be referred immediately to the Attorney-General.

The Commission then dealt with the origin, organization, finances, and objects of the Institute. It stated it was satisfied that the Institute kept proper books. The current research and publications programmes were financed by grants from the Ford Foundation. The Commission pointed out that grants made by American institutions, if to be exempt from income tax, might not be used "to carry on propaganda or otherwise to attempt to influence legislation". It had been unable, it said, to obtain from witnesses a definition of "lobbying" that it deemed satisfactory, and it was of the opinion that statements issued by the Institute from time to time in connection with Bills before Parliament amounted to "attempts to influence legislation". Later in its report, however, the Commission found that the Ford Foundation was satisfied with the manner in which its grants were applied.

After discussing the Institute's objects, the Commission stated that emphasis "consistently falls on the Bantu, and also on the claim that it is the White man who should change". The Commission considered that while the Institute was founded "on the basis of humanism and of classical liberalism", its objectives had gradually undergone changes in emphasis. It had become an agent for "social change". The Institute was not clear in its utterances as to the ultimate goals of the "change" that was advocated. It pointed the way, but had given no clear image of the ultimate constitutional destiny it envisaged for S.A. But the Commission continued, "It must be stated clearly that the 'change' which the Institute has in mind can by no manner of means be equated with the 'change' which other radical organizations or persons have in mind. The Institute desires an evolutionary and peaceful process. It is opposed to any kind of violent process whatsoever".

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[1] R.P. 62/1974.

[2] See 1973 *Survey*, pages 36-7.

Turning to the Institute's research programme, the Commission recorded its conclusion that "the Institute is not an academic research institution, but that it merely collects facts". An "expert witness" is quoted as having praised the objectivity of the annual Survey of Race Relations, and the pains taken to arrive at correct facts. This witness was, however, severely critical of two of the articles written in the past by Research Assistants. The Commission stated that "it experienced difficulties in trying to determine when a publication is an official document of the Institute and when it only represents the author's opinion".

The Commission went on to discuss its conceptions of Black Power and Black Consciousness. It concluded that because of its opposition to polarization the Institute as such had been confused and dismayed by the upsurge of these movements, and had failed to understand them properly in spite of expositions by named persons at various of its meetings and symposia, and in spite of articles written for other publishers by a member of its own staff. The Commission expressed its "amazement" that persons it named were still welcome in the Institute.

The Commission then stated that "several positive aspects of the Institute's activities" had come to its attention. The activities mentioned were:

the Domestic Workers' and Employers' Project;
the inauguration and conducting for 10 years of the Bureau for Literacy and Literature;
plans for community self-help surveys;
secretarial and book-keeping work to assist several Black organizations;
assistance to the S.A. Voluntary Services;
the administration of large numbers of bursary funds and advice given to applicants that was available through the Education Information Centre;
various publications, including the Survey of Race Relations and other factual documents.

Sharp criticism was expressed, however, of the control and the administration of the Institute's Youth Programme. The

Commission stated it was clear that not all the members of the Institute were happy with this Programme. It seriously recommended that the Institute should exercise better control over the implementation of the Programme; should investigate the manner in which the member of staff concerned was handling it, and whether he was fit to be in charge of it; and should consider undertaking the Programme in consultation with the education authorities.

The Nationalist members of the Commission further recommended that, in the absence of appropriate action by the Institute, the Government should investigate the Youth Programme and then take appropriate steps to eliminate any malpractices. But the U.P. members submitted a minority report to the effect that they were satisfied that the Institute would give sufficient attention to the recommendations. If any person was suspected of unlawful conduct, the information concerned should be submitted to the Attorney-General for such action in the courts as he might deem desirable. No further interference by the Government was considered necessary.

In its final chapter the Commission said, "Within the ranks of the Institute there is a group of radicals by far the majority of whom are at present, or have been over the past few years, leading lights in Nusas". These people were stated to be "out to steer the Institute in a more radical direction for their own purposes, namely as a 'post-university Nusas', and also, if possible, even to take over the Institute". They wanted to force the Institute to become more activist. In support of these allegations the Commission quoted from intercepted correspondence between Nusas leaders and two named persons who were successively members of the Institute's staff. Some of the activities of these two persons were stated to have been underhand and blatantly disloyal. The Commission came to the conclusion that the Cape Western branch of the Institute was "completely under the control of Nusas, of ex-Nusas leaders and their sympathisers". It considered that there had been a considerable degree of ignorance among senior members of the Institute about the Nusas group's attempts to take over. It would be wise, the Commission advised, for the Institute to keep itself properly informed of the activities of one of the persons whom it had named, who was still serving on its staff.

Comments on this report

The Institute's Action Committee issued a Press statement [3] reading as follows:

"Despite the fact that from the outset the Commission was a body totally unfitted both in composition and procedure to perform what was essentially a judicial function, it has had no alternative but to vindicate the Institute.

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[3] RR 122/1974

"In order to provide a semblance of justification for probing into the affairs of the Institute, the Commission has produced unfounded criticisms of certain aspects of its activities.

"The Institute, which is always ready to pay attention to legitimate criticism, will continue to exercise reasonable control over the Youth Programme to ensure that the aims of the Programme, which were clearly stated before the Commission, are firmly adhered to.

"The suggestion that the Government should intervene in the conduct of the Youth Programme is gratuitous and unwarranted.

"The Institute affirms that it welcomes the active participation of young people who identify with its aims and objects, whether they belong to Nusas or to any other organization.

"The Institute is also satisfied that democratic procedures have been followed in the election of its Council and office-bearers and has full confidence in all those so elected."

During the course of the Parliamentary debate referred to earlier there was very little comment on the report on the Institute of Race Relations. Sir De Villiers Graaff said[4] that the Commission's report on the Institute would "end for all time the accusations that it was acting against the interests of South Africa". Mrs. Helen Suzman said[5] that she had known all along that the Institute had been thrown in as a decoy duck and there had not been the slightest doubt that it would emerge unscathed from the inquiry.

FURTHER REPORTS BY THE COMMISSION

The Commission's report on the Christian Institute and the University Christian Movement have not been published at the time of writing.

TRIALS OF PERSONS WHO REFUSED TO TESTIFY BEFORE THE SCHLEBUSCH COMMISSION

As described on pages 36-8 of last year's *Survey*, nine people who were subpoenaed to give evidence during the Schlebusch Commission's investigation of the Christian Institute refused to testify: they were the Rev. Dr. C. F. Beyers Naudé (Director of this Institute), the Rev. Brian Brown, Mrs. D. Cleminshaw, Mr. Horst Kleinschmidt, the Rev. Theo Kotze, the Rev. Roelf Meyer, Mr. James Moulder, Mr. Peter Randall, and the Rev. Danie van Zyl.

Four of those subpoenaed to give evidence about the Institute of Race Relations refused to testify, namely Mr. Dudley Horner, Mrs. I. Kleinschmidt, Mr. Clive Nettleton, and Mr. Peter Randall.

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[4] Hansard 2 cols. 835-52.

[5] Cols. 892-902.

All these persons were charged. Two cases were heard during 1973. Mrs. Kleinschmidt was found guilty in the Pretoria Regional Court of refusing to take the oath or give affirmed evidence, and was sentenced to a fine of R50 or 25 days. The magistrate said that deliberate acts against the law could not be defended as acts of conscience. She appealed against this judgment, on the grounds that she had been required to testify before a committee of the Commission and that the chairman of this committee was not invested with the full powers of the chairman of the Commission, as meant in the Commissions Act. He could not, therefore, require a witness to take the oath before him, and a refusal to do so was, thus, not an offence. This appeal was dismissed by two judges of the Transvaal Supreme Court. Mrs. Kleinschmidt elected to go to jail; but an unidentified person paid her fine before she was admitted to prison.

At his trial, also in Pretoria, Dr. Naudé submitted that it was common knowledge that the Government opposed the policies of the Christian Institute. A Commission of politicians could not, therefore, be unprejudiced. Moreover, the Commission had deviated from normal legal procedures. Dr. Naudé was found guilty of having refused to take the oath or to testify, and was fined R50 or one month, and given a further three months' conditionally suspended prison sentence. Leave to appeal was granted.

Early in January, Mr. J. Moulder appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court, and was found guilty of refusing to give evidence without sufficient cause. He was sentenced to R50 or 25 days' imprisonment, with a further two months suspended conditionally for three years. Leave to appeal was granted. A few days later Mrs. Cleminshaw was convicted of a similar charge in the same court and sentenced to R20 or 10 days, plus two months suspended conditionally for three years. She, too, was granted leave to appeal.

There was a new development at the trial of the Rev. Theo Kotze, by the same magistrate, in mid-January. The secretary of the Schlebusch Commission, Mr. C. P. J. Prinsloo, was called as a witness and questions were put to him relating to witnesses who had appeared before the Commission. Counsel for the State and for the defence agreed to ask the magistrate to order disclosure of information relating to the Commission's proceedings, which in terms of Section 10 of the Commissions Act were secret. The magistrate did so, on the understanding that the disclosures should be limited to matters relevant to the trial in progress. Next day, however, the Attorney-General's office brought an application for the postponement of the trial to enable the Commission to take legal advice on the competence of the court to give this ruling. If the court were found not to be competent, it was stated, it would not be able to offer protection to Mr. Prinsloo, and he would be liable to prosecution for having divulged the proceedings of the Commission. A postponement was granted.

Events followed a similar course at the commencement of the trial of Mr. Randall, early in February, in the same court but by a different magistrate. This magistrate granted an order allowing Mr. Prinsloo to reveal information relating to the Commission's proceedings in so far as this information related to the case being heard. He held the view, the magistrate said, that if a court were asked in its juridical function to investigate a question relating to the hearing of a Commission, the court must hear what had transpired at this hearing. Counsel for the State applied successfully for a postponement of the trial.

When the trial of the Rev. Theo Kotze was resumed, later in February, the defence applied for his discharge on the grounds that the body before which he had been required to testify (which had consisted of four members of a committee of the Commission) had been improperly constituted and that, therefore, the penal provisions of the Commissions Act did not apply. Judgment was reserved.

Dr. Naudé's appeal was heard early in March by two judges of the Supreme Court, Pretoria—Mr. Justice Bekker and Mr. Justice Botha. They accepted the defence argument that it was an essential element of the offence created in terms of the penal provisions of the Commissions Act that the body before which a witness refused to testify must be a commission appointed by the State President. The Commission had consisted of a chairman and eight members. But the body before which Dr. Naudé appeared had consisted merely of four members. It was not the appointed commission. Dr. Naudé had, therefore, committed no offence. The judges found it unnecessary to go into the merits of a further ground of appeal, which was Dr. Naudé's moral objection to testifying. His conviction and sentence were set aside. It was announced in April that the State had been granted leave to appeal against this judgment.

Meanwhile, however, Mr. Horst Kleinschmidt had appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court on a similar charge. The prosecutor told the magistrate that the same considerations on which Dr. Naudé's appeal succeeded applied to Mr. Kleinschmidt's case, and he could not press for a conviction. Mr. Kleinschmidt was acquitted.

Mrs. Cleminshaw's appeal was heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court at the end of April, by Mr. Justice Snyman and Mr. Justice Viljoen. It was based on similar grounds to that of Dr. Naudé. The judges found that the judgment in Dr. Naudé's case had been wrong. The court had looked only at the requirements of the Commissions Act for a quorum provision. As there was not one, the judges had ruled that all members had to be present when a witness refused to testify before the penal clause could be put into operation. They should have taken into account also the State President's powers under his prerogative and what his intentions had been. He had granted the committees the same powers as the commission. The chairman of the committee had acted lawfully in requiring Mrs. Cleminshaw to testify. Her appeal, thus, failed. The judges went on to state that her resons for refusing were of a political nature and had no merit in law. Mrs. Cleminshaw applied for leave to appeal.

After Dr. Naudé's appeal succeeded, the cases of certain other people who had refused to testify were withdrawn before they were asked to plead, pending a clarification of points of law raised at the trials described: the persons concerned were the Rev. Brian Brown, Mr. Dudley Horner, the Rev. Roelf Meyer, Mr. Clive Nettleton, and the Rev. Danie van Zyl. Each had appeared in court several times. The passports of certain leading members of the Christian Institute, which had been withdrawn pending their trials, were returned to them.

Trials of persons connected with Ravan Press

As mentioned last year, Dr. Naudé, Mr. Peter Randall, and the Rev. Danie van Zyl, in their capacities as directors of Ravan Press, together with the company itself, had also been charged under the Suppression of Communism Act for having published a statement by the banned former Nusas leader, Mr. Paul Pretorius. This case came up for trial in the Johannesburg Regional Court during August. Evidence was given that a strip of paper had been pasted over the statement after Mr. Pretorius was banned. The magistrate said the statement could have been read by removing the paper. Nevertheless, the charge against Ravan Press was that it printed the statement unlawfully. But as the document had been printed before the banning order was issued, the accused were found not guilty. The State gave notice of appeal against this judgment.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The World Council of Churches (WCC) is reported[1] to consist of 276 churches representing more than 400-million Christians. It has a large budget used for a variety of purposes: according to the same report, the annual budget of its Division of Inter-Church Aid and Refugee Relief alone is about R20-million. It has in the past contributed large amounts to South African agencies towards the building of churches, theological seminaries, and mission hospitals and the salaries of workers.

However, the aspect of its activities that has attracted most public attention in S.A. is the money granted by its Programme to Combat Racism, financed from a special fund. It was decided early in 1974 that a further R216 000 should be paid to what are known overseas as liberation movements in Southern Africa, but in S.A. have more frequently been termed terrorist organizations. These grants are intended for purely humanitarian purposes, but accountability is not required. The attitude of the S.A. Council of Churches has been that it opposes violence in all its forms. It has opposed the grants to the organizations engaged in violence on the borders of Southern African states, but has also pointed to "structural and institutional violence" in the South African situation.[2]

During March, Dr. Lukas Vischer visited S.A.: he heads the Faith and Order Mission of the WCC, which deals with church unity. Representatives of the WCC had consistently been refused visas to enter the Republic, but, as a Swiss national, Dr. Vischer did not need one and came on a temporary visitor's permit. He is reported[3] to have said at a Press conference, just before he left, that through its grants the WCC was showing a measure of solidarity with the liberation movements, the ultimate aim of which was to achieve social justice, and was keeping lines of communication open, so that the movements did not turn to communism. Nevertheless, the aim of the WCC was not to increase violence, but to avoid its escalation.

As he was on the point of leaving S.A., Dr. Vischer was served with an order notifying him that his temporary visiting permit had been withdrawn and that his future entry to the country was prohibited. The Minister of the Interior stated that the action had been taken so that the WCC would "take note of our total disapproval of their attitude and their support for the terrorist movements".

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[1] *Star*, 2 March.

[2] From various issues of the S.A.C.C.'s *EcuNews Bulletin*.

[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 14, 18, and 23 March; *Star*, 16 March.

It was reported on page 40 of last year's *Survey* that the WCC had sold its holdings in more than 1 000 overseas corporations that were considered to be directly involved in investment or trade in Southern Africa. During May, the Programme to Combat Racism decided to draw up a short list of banks which were deemed to be supporting "racist regimes in Southern Africa",[4] to be submitted to the central committee of the WCC at its meeting in Berlin in August.

At the meeting of this central committee the grants to liberation movements were again discussed. Some delegates urged tighter control of the use of this money to ensure that it was employed only for humanitarian purposes. Mr. John Rees, general secretary of the S.A. Council of Churches, opposed the indiscriminate granting of money to organizations that were actively engaged in violence. He reminded the committee, as had been done the previous year,[5] that racism and social injustice were world problems, and not confined to Southern Africa. Discrimination practised in certain Eastern European and Asian countries was again referred to.

The Programme obtained a renewed mandate to continue the grants. On his return to S.A., however, Mr. Rees said that dialogue with the WCC was beginning to pay dividends. More member-churches were now criticising the grants, and more reflection being given to the views of S.A. Churches.[6]

ALL AFRICA CONFERENCE OF CHURCHES[7]

The All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), with headquarters in Nairobi, has a membership of 103 churches in 32 African countries. Its third assembly was held in Lusaka during May. Among the delegates were Black and White representatives of the S.A. Council of Churches, the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, and ten South African and four Rhodesian member-churches. Also present were representatives of the South African ANC-in-exile, SWAPO, ZAPU, the MPLA, and allied bodies.[8]

According to Mr. John Rees, who was one of the South African delegates, the assembly discussed a wide variety of issues facing the Church in Africa, such as co-operation between churches, evangelism, the rôle of women, education, and tribalism. Discussions relating to "racism" and "liberation movements" received particular attention by the Press, however.

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[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 May.

[5] See 1973 *Survey*, pages 40—1.

[6] From various Press reports, e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 August; *Star*, 28 August.

[7] The paragraphs that follow are based on reports by Mr. John Rees in the *EcuNews Bulletin*, and on various Press reports.

[8] These organizations and their activities are dealt with in subsequent chapters.

One of the resolutions passed was that the AACC urged all member-churches, Christian organizations, and individuals to use all their influence to bring about an end to White emigration to Southern Africa, and a withdrawal of outside investments. Mr. Rees moved that support should be expressed for investments "which do not entrench racism"; but this amendment was not debated, and fell away.

Another of the resolutions accepted commended the efforts and actions of the WCC and other bodies and of the AACC's general secretary, Canon Burgess Carr, "in combating racism", and urged member-churches, councils and organizations "to initiate action groups that will involve many Christians in the liberation struggle". Mr. Rees moved, unsuccessfully, that this resolution should end, "that will involve many Christians in action and prayer for liberation, justice, and reconciliation on all levels in Southern Africa".

The assembly recommended to the AACC's general committee "that involvement in the struggle for liberation, justice, and reconciliation in Southern Africa be given priority in the use of AACC resources, of programme staffing, and finance in the next five years". Here, the words "justice and reconciliation" were inserted on the motion of Mr. Rees. In an article written subsequently Mr. Rees said it had emerged during discussions that the liberation movements had seen themselves as resorting to violence in order to counter violence. While he, personally, rejected violence in all its forms, it should be borne in mind, in considering the resolutions, that over many years and in many instances the Church had endorsed the use of violence.

The AACC voted R3 500 to be divided equally between the MPLA and SWAPO. No stipulation was made as to how the money should be used.

Despite these resolutions, four Africans from South Africa were elected to the executive of the AACC, one as a vice-president. On the proposal of Mr. Rees, the assembly resolved that, in consultation with the AACC, the Churches of Southern Africa should convene a consultation, to be held at a neutral place, to discuss the rôle of the Churches in achieving liberation, justice, and reconciliation. Mr. Rees said afterwards he was convinced that the voice of the Church in South Africa must continue to be heard in AACC councils.

THE S.A. COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

General matters

According to *EcuNews Bulletin* of 24 June, the executive of the S.A. Council of Churches (SACC) approved an application for membership from the Apostolic Ministers' Association of S.A., which is composed of ministers from about 20 different African independent churches. Further, the Coloured "daughter church" of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk had applied to join the other two "daughter churches" in having observer status. It was reported later[9] that all three of these churches were to recommend to their synods that they should apply to become full members of the SACC: these churches are the NG Kerk in Afrika (with about 534 000 African members), the NG Sendingkerk in Suid-Afrika (549 000 Coloured members), and the Indian Reformed Church (1 300 members).

The Southern Africa Catholic Bishops' Conference (which has observer-status with the SACC) decided early in 1974 to co-ordinate its practical development work among Black communities with that of Inter-Church Aid, which is administered by the SACC.

A meeting of the executive and church leaders of the SACC was held at St. Peter's Theological College, Hammanskraal, at the end of July to precede the Council's annual national conference. It endorsed the Council's decision to make representations to the Government against classification under the Group Areas Act. (The Anglican Church had made similar representations.)[10]

The national conference, *inter alia*, viewed with "abhorrence" the Government's plan to move hundreds of thousands of Africans in schemes for the consolidation of the homelands, and called on constituent members to give full support and aid to people who might refuse to move.[11]

Resolution on injustice in the S.A. society

A motion referring to conscientious objection to military service, which was to have consequences of much significance, was proposed by the Rev. D. Bax (Presbyterian, from Umtata) and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Beyers Naudé, director of the Christian Institute. After a lengthy debate, during which Bishop Phillip Russell maintained that such a profound issue should have been discussed first by the churches, it was adopted, the preamble by 35 votes to 10 with one abstention, and the text that followed by 48 votes to nil with no abstentions.[12] A summary follows.[13]

The conference maintained in a preamble that Christians were called upon to strive for justice and true peace, which could be founded only on justice. It did not accept that it was automatically the duty of Christians to engage in violence and war, or to prepare to do so, whenever the State demanded this. Both

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[9] *Sunday Times*, 18 August

[10] *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 July

[11] *Ibid*, 2 August

[12] *Sunday Times*, 4 August. There were 63 voting delegates present, thus a fairly large percentage did not vote or record an abstention

[13] The full text was published in the *Sunday Express*, 4 August, and in *EcuNews*

Catholic and Reformation theology had regarded the taking up of arms as justifiable, if at all, only in order to fight a "just war". The theological definition of a "just war" excluded war in defence of a basically unjust and discriminatory society.

The Republic of S.A. was at present an unjust and discriminatory society, it was stated. This injustice and discrimination constituted the primary institutionalised violence which had provoked the counter-violence of "terrorists or freedom fighters". Military forces were being prepared to defend this society. The threat of military force was already used to defend the status quo against moves for radical change from outside the White electorate. It was hypocritical to deplore the violence of terrorists or freedom fighters while S.A. prepared to defend its society, with its institutionalised violence, by means of yet more violence.

The conference questioned the basis on which chaplains were seconded to the military forces by the churches, lest their presence indicated moral support for the defence of an unjust and discriminatory society.

Inter alia, the conference then went on to deplore violence as a means to solve problems, and requested the SACC to study methods of non-violent action for change.

It called on member-churches to challenge all their members to consider, in view of what had been said, whether Christ's call to take up the Cross and follow Him in identifying with the oppressed did not, in the S.A. situation, involve becoming conscientious objectors.

The courage and witness of those who had been willing to go to jail in protest against unjust laws and policies in S.A. was commended. Conference prayed for the Government and people of the land, and urgently called on them to make rapid strides towards radical, peaceful change in society.

Some reactions to this resolution

Interviewed by the Nationalist Press,[14] the Prime Minister is reported to have said it was clear from the scope of the resolution that the decision was meant to bring about a confrontation with the State. "I want to warn very seriously that those who play with fire in this way must consider very thoroughly before they burn their fingers irrevocably."

The Minister of Defence announced that he was taking legal opinion on the terms of the resolution.

Commenting in the Assembly,[15] Sir De Villiers Graaff said that the U.P. believed it was the duty of every South African to assist in the defence of the country against aggression, including terrorism, and that the encouragement of conscientious objection to this duty would only serve the cause of violence. Changes in S.A. must be brought about by peaceful and constitutional means and without external interference. The defence of S.A. and opposition to terrorism was not an issue between the Government and the U.P., he added.

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[14] Quoted in *The Star*, 3 August

[15] 5 August, Hansard 1 col. 52

Speaking for the Progressive Party,[16] Professor F. van Zyl Slabbert, M.P., said that whereas this party had repeatedly stated that it found the policy implemented by the present government to be unjust, the party had also urged that the socio-political system that had resulted from this policy could and should be changed by non-violent means. Therefore, the very institutions, political, economic, and social, which could serve as instruments of peaceful change had to be defended against attack and violence from outside. A clear distinction had to be drawn between loyalty to South Africa and what she could become, and a commitment to the policy of apartheid. The P.P. strongly disagreed with the SACC resolution also because it spread a defeatist spirit towards peaceful change and because it drew attention away from crucial political issues that were negotiable.

The Northern Transvaal moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Dr. O'Brien Geldenhuys, is reported[17] to have told the Press that the resolution had slammed the doors between the SACC and the Dutch Reformed Churches in S.A. There was no longer common ground on which to discuss eventual church unity.

Among those identifying themselves with the terms of the resolution were Nusas, the United Congregational Church of S.A., the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Transvaal Region), the Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg, and the Bantu Presbyterian Church. Some other churches made no definite pronouncement, or decided to reflect on the situation: they included the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, the Methodist Church of S.A., and the Anglican Diocese of Cape Town. The Baptist Union of S.A. dissociated itself from the resolution.[18]

The introduction by the Government of the Defence Further Amendment Bill, and reactions to this, are described in a subsequent chapter of this *Survey* dealing with security matters.

CHRISTIAN LEAGUE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Early in August a new church group was formed, called the Christian League of Southern Africa, and headed by the Rev. Fred Shaw, a Methodist minister, and a multi-racial ad hoc committee. Its aims were reported[19] to be to afford members of churches that were affiliated to the WCC and the SACC an opportunity to dissociate themselves from involvement in the actions of these

[16] *Star*, 5 August; *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 August.

[17] *Sunday Express*, 4 August.

[18] Various issues of *EcuNews Bulletin*.

[19] *Sunday Express*, 18 August.

bodies, and to establish an organization representative of all church denominations in Southern Africa to work for co-operation between them without the necessity of church union.

REFORMED ECUMENICAL SYNOD[20] AND DUTCH REFORMED CHURCHES

A meeting of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, held at Lunteran, Holland during March, was attended by three delegates from affiliated Dutch Reformed Churches in S.A.—the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk and the Gereformeerde Kerk. Consideration was given to a report compiled by a minister from Amsterdam on decisions of the WCC on matters relating to South Africa, and the background to these. The Netherlands Reformed Churches are members of the WCC, and are reported to contribute about R12 000 a year to the Programme to Combat Racism.

After lengthy discussion it was decided by 49 votes to 22 to support the aid being given by this Programme to what were termed liberation movements in Southern Africa. The Ecumenical Synod was in general agreement, too, with the WCC's policy of discouraging emigration to South Africa, since the arrival of more skilled White workers buttressed apartheid in that Blacks were kept out of the jobs they entered.

The Ecumenical Synod was, however, opposed to the WCC decision to discourage foreign investment and to advise foreign firms already operating in South Africa to withdraw. This, it was considered, would be harmful to Blacks in S.A. Dutch investors were called upon to oppose racial discrimination by undertaking meaningful programmes of reform in the wages and working conditions of Blacks.

Differences of opinion were subsequently expressed within the two member-churches in S.A. as to whether or not they should withdraw from the Reformed Ecumenical Synod as a result of the resolution to support grants to organizations engaged in guerrilla warfare. So far as the NGK was concerned, decision rested with the General Synod of this church.

At its meeting, held in Cape Town on 16 October, the General Synod of the NGK resolved, by an overwhelming majority, that it would regard its ties with the Netherlands Reformed Churches as broken unless the decision to support terrorism on the S.A. borders was rescinded not later than the first session of the next synod.

AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES[1]

An "emergency committee" formed of various African Independent Churches Associations has met and drawn up a draft federal constitution which may eventually lead to the merging of some of these bodies. The main organizations are AICA (the African Independent Churches' Association), RICA (Reformed Independent Churches' Association), and AICM (African Independent Churches' Movement); but various others exist.

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[20] This account is based on various Press reports and an article in *Race Relations News* for May

[1] Account based on reports in *EcuNews Bulletin* of 1 April, 13 May, 24 J

The main object of the meeting had been to discuss theological training for ministers of these churches. The "emergency committee" successfully negotiated with the Rector of St. Peter's Theological College at Hammanskraal for a further course to be run there for student ministers of the independent churches.

THE S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

At the 44th annual meeting of the Institute, held in Cape Town during January, Mr. Duchesne C. Grice delivered his Presidential address, entitled *The Conflicting "Realities" of the South African Scene*. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi gave the Hoernlé Memorial Lecture, on *White and Black Nationalism, Ethnicity, and the Future of the Homelands*.[1]

Most of the Council meeting was devoted to developments in the African homelands, the following papers being presented:

Consolidation, by Professor J. H. Moolman (RR. 159/73).

Economic Development Strategy in the African Homelands: the Rôle of Agriculture and Industry, by Mr. Gavin Maasdorp (RR. 160/73), also available in printed form).

The Political Future of the Homelands, by Chief L. M. Mangope (RR. 11/74).

An account of these papers, and the discussions that followed, was given in the issue of *Race Relations News* for January/February.

The report on the Institute of Race Relations by the Schlebusch Commission is summarized on page 36.

Other work of the Institute is mentioned in relevant chapters of this *Survey*.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

The Black Sash continues to run Advice Offices for Africans in various centres (the office in Cape Town being conducted in co-operation with the Institute of Race Relations). Reference to reports issued is made in the chapter of this *Survey* dealing with the pass laws. The Sash continues, too, to hold silent placard demonstrations to keep members of the public aware of matters for concern. During 1974 demonstrations have been held, *inter alia*, against the Affected Organizations and the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Bills, the serving of banning orders on political prisoners on the expiry of their prison sentences, and the draft new Press Council Code of Conduct.

The National Council of Women of S.A. continues to extend its concern to the affairs of Black women. At its 40th annual congress, held in Port Elizabeth during May, the president, Mrs. J. M. Grieve, pointed out that because normal freedom of association was difficult in S.A., a real effort must be made to achieve mutual understanding with members of the Black groups. Representations made by the N.C.W. on various issues are mentioned in appropriate chapters.

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[1] Copies of these lectures are available from the Institute of Race Relations.

THE POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION

In September, the Department of Statistics issued the following estimates of the population in June 1974[1]:

	Number	*Percentage*
African	17 745 000	71,2
White	4 160 000	16,7
Coloured	2 306 000	9,3
Asian	709 000	2,8
	24 920 000	100,0

In the House of Assembly the Minister of Statistics told Mrs. H. Suzman M.P. (P.P.) that the 1970 population census showed that 3 310 565 Africans were living on White-owned farms. Of these African farm residents, 1 477 718 were in the Transvaal, 786 449 in the O.F.S., 562 761 in the Cape, and 483 637 in Natal.[2]

FAMILIES

Department of Statistics Report No. 02-03-01 gave information on White, Coloured and Asian families extracted from the 1970 census. The average size of the White family remained unchanged at 3,7 persons per family between 1960 and 1970. However, given the fact that the birth rate per 1 000 people had declined from 25,1 in 1950, to 24,8 in 1960, and 23,6 in 1970, and that the number of children under ten years had declined from one in 1960 to 0,8 per family in 1970, the average White family could be expected to decline still further by 1980.

On the other hand, the average size of the Coloured family increased from 4,9 to 5,2 persons between 1960 and 1970, and this increase was partly attributable to a decline in the Coloured death rate per thousand people from 20,3 in 1950, to 15,6 in 1960, and 14,2 in 1970.

The average size of the Asian family decreased from 5,3 to 5 persons between 1960 and 1970. This was ascribed to the decrease in the number of children under 10 years from 1,8 to 1,4 per family between 1960 and 1970.

Those families consisting of a father, mother and child(ren) constituted 68,2 per cent of all White, 69,2 per cent of all Coloured, and 77,4 per cent of all Asian families. Families which consisted of only a mother and child(ren) accounted for 6,1 per cent of White, 17,2 per cent of Coloured and 11,1 per cent of Asian families.

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[1] Rand Daily Mail, 18 September.
[2] Hansard 7 col. 506, 20 September.

RELIGION

The Minister of Statistics said that according to the 1970 census, 3 540 272 Whites (94 per cent), 1 854 734 Coloured people (91 per cent), 53 851 Asians (8 per cent), and 10 410 100 Africans (69¼ per cent) in the Republic were Christians. Adherents of other religions were 128 817 Whites (3 per cent), 148 588 Coloured people (7 per cent), 559 099 Asians (89 per cent), and 76 980 Africans (0,5 per cent). People of no religious persuasion numbered 104 193 Whites (3 per cent), 47 377 Coloured people (2 per cent), 17 422 Asians (3 per cent), and 4 549 280 Africans (30¼ per cent).[3]

IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION GROWTH

Immigration over the past four years declined steadily from a net gain of 32 369 in 1970 to 17 726 in 1973.[4] The United Kingdom is the principal source of supply for these White immigrants but other African states, Germany, the Netherlands, Austria, Italy, Portugal and Switzerland are also important sources. Figures given by the Minister of Statistics indicated that in the census year 1970 non-South African citizens comprised 211 437 or nearly nine per cent of the South African population of the age of 18 years or more.[5]

In November 1973 the Government raised the level of *direct* financial assistance to immigrants to R200 per immigrant. In the financial year 1972/3 the Government assisted 21 898 immigrants at a cost of R3 576 004.[6]

According to the *Rand Daily Mail* of 7 November, during September the Christian Institute of S.A. issued a pamphlet on *White Immigration to South Africa*, calling for an immediate end to organized White immigration. This call was strongly opposed by the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Association of Chambers of Commerce of S.A., the Building Industries Federation, the Chamber of Mines, the Federated Chamber of Industries, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation, the S.A. Agricultural Union, and the S.A. Motor Industries Employers' Association, which together employ about 95 per cent of the total labour force in the private sector.

The question of family planning has been receiving a great deal of attention in recent times. The Minister of Health said that 428 clinics were being directly administered and financed by the

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[3] Hansard 3 cols. 120—2, 19 August. (The data included cases where the question on the census form was not answered as well as where persons had objections to answering.)

[4] Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1974. Tables 1.3.3. and 1.3.6.

[5] Hansard 3 cols. 120—2, 19 February.

[6] Hansard 3 cols. 138—9, 22 February.

State and 1 910 were being indirectly administered and subsidized in cities, towns and villages throughout the country. These clinics were, in the main, open to all race groups and were employing 326 full-time and 364 part-time staff exclusively engaged in family planning services.[7]

VITAL STATISTICS

The latest figures available to the compilers on the birth rate *per thousand* of the population were for 1971 when the White birth rate was 23,1, the Coloured 35,5, and the Asian 34,0. The death rate in 1972 was 8,5 for Whites, 12,9 for Coloured people, and 6,9 for Asians. The infantile mortality rate *per thousand* live births was 20,9 for Whites, 122,1 for Coloured people, and 35,6 for Asians in 1971. Whites were marrying at the rate of 10,4 *per thousand* in 1972, Coloured people at 7,2, and Asians at 10,7 while divorces were taking place at the rate of 2,13 among Whites, 0,42 among Coloured people, and 0,29 among Asians.[8]

The last available life expectancy figures (1969-71) for White, Coloured and Asian people were[9]:

	Male	*Female*
White	64,5	72,3
Coloured	48,8	56,1
Asian	59,3	63,9

The Minister of Statistics said that his department was planning a demographic survey among Africans for the year 1976/77 and it would then be possible to estimate the life expectancy of Africans.[10]

ILLEGITIMACY

The Minister of Statistics said that the number of registered illegitimate births in 1972 (1971 for Asians since the 1972 figure was not available at the time) was[11]:

	Number
White	2 645
Coloured	32 296
Asian	1 928

Similar information for Africans is not available.

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[7] Hansard 3 cols. 178—9, 23 August.
[8] Department of Statistics. *Op cit.* Table 1.2.
[9] See page 50 of last year's *Survey*.
[10] Hansard 3 col. 114, 19 February.
[11] Hansard 3 col. 126, 19 February and Hansard 6 col. 401, 9 September.

IMMORALITY AND MIXED MARRIAGES

The Deputy Minister of Justice gave the following figures on the number of persons prosecuted and convicted under section 16 of the Immorality Act between 1 July 1972 and 30 June 1973[12]:

	Prosecutions			*Convictions*		
	M	*F*	*Total*	*M*	*F*	*Total*
White	253	13	266	161	5	166
Coloured	4	53	57	0	30	30
Asian	3	5	8	1	3	4
African	6	156	162	2	102	104
	266	227	493	164	140	304

While many face the stigma of prosecution under this Act only 62 per cent of the prosecutions result in convictions. The Minister gave later figures, but no racial break-down, for the period 1 July 1973 to 30 June 1974 when 580 cases were referred to the Attorneys-General, 344 persons were prosecuted and 307 convicted under section 16 of the Act.[13]

Three White men committed suicide during the year after charges under this section of the Immorality Act had been preferred against them[14], and a young Coloured man flung himself under a train because the Mixed Marriages Act prevented his marrying his Afrikaans girl friend.[15]

Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the U.P., called for section 16 of the Immorality Act to be struck off the Statute Book,[16] and the Progressive Party's Mrs. Helen Suzman reiterated her oft-repeated call for its repeal saying: "We must get rid of this appalling, rotten bit of legislation."[17]

A young White man had himself reclassified as "Coloured" to enable him to marry a Coloured girl.[18] The Supreme Court in Cape Town annulled the marriage in Britain of an Indian South African and a White woman in terms of the Mixed Marriages Act.[19]

POPULATION REGISTRATION

The new identity documents (book of life) required by White, Coloured and Asian people were mentioned on pages 25 and 28 of the 1970 *Survey* and further information was given on page 65 of the 1972 *Survey*. The Minister of the Interior said that by the end of January 1974 these identity documents had been issued to 972 714 Whites, 218 361 Coloured people and 58 408 Asians.[20]

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[12] Hansard 2 cols. 89—90, 15 February.
[13] Hansard 5 cols. 271—2, 3 September.
[14] *Sunday Times*, 11 August.
[15] *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 September.
[16] *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 June.
[17] *Star*, 4 September.
[18] *Sunday Times*, 7 April.
[19] *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 April.
[20] Hansard 2 cols. 88—9, 15 February.

MEASURES FOR SECURITY AND THE CONTROL OF PERSONS

VOTES FOR SECURITY, DEFENCE, AND POLICE

According to the Republic's Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for the year ending 31 March 1975,[1] the amounts budgeted for the services indicated are:

	R
Contribution to Security Services Special Account	12 536 000
Defence	692 025 000
Police	153 127 000
	857 638 000

This represents 19,77 per cent of the total estimated expenditure from Revenue Account, and is an increase of R259 754 000 over the previous year's estimates.

Besides this, R26 579 200 is to be provided from Loan Account,[2] R10 496 000 of it for the purchase of shares of the Armament Development and Production Corporation of S.A. (Ltd.), and the rest for buildings required by the Defence and Police Departments.

EMPLOYMENT OF BLACKS IN THE DEFENCE FORCE

Speaking in the Assembly during February,[3] Mr. W. Vause Raw gave an assurance that if the Government decided to make increased use of Blacks in the country's defence system the United Party would not exploit this in any way for party political purposes.

In the course of his reply,[4] the Minister of Defence said that the Coloured Corps had been developed into a model organization that was a feather in the caps of the Defence Force and the Coloured population as a whole. It was growing by the day, and Coloured men were increasingly being absorbed into the navy, too.

The Minister foreshadowed the establishment of an Indian Corps. Later, during July, he announced [5] that Salisbury Island, Durban, was to be re-established as a fully-operational naval base. It would also be the headquarters for an Indian Service Battalion, for which recruiting would start shortly. The first 200 trainees would begin a twelve-months' course in January 1975, this course being of a general nature relating to all three sections of the Defence Force. Those who qualified at the end of the training would be given an opportunity of joining the Permanent Force.

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[1] R.P. 2/1974 pages 13, 46, and 327
[2] R.P. 3/1974, pages 18, 31, 82, and 92
[3] Hansard 1 cols. 294—6
[4] Cols. 304—6
[5] *Sunday Express*, 14 July; *Fiat Lux*, August

In his speech made in February the Minister said that the question of participation by Africans in the Defence Force was being investigated in consultation with homeland leaders. (By then, local Africans were already serving as trackers with army patrols in the Caprivi Strip, armed, and wearing uniform, but they were not regular members of the Army. Blacks of all groups were serving as full members of the Police Force on border duty in the north.)

During June, the Defence Force advertised in various newspapers for African recruits to serve in the Army. According to military spokesmen[6], volunteers who were selected would be given training in drill, military law, the handling of weapons, and first aid and hygiene. They would subsequently be employed mainly on guard duties but also as drivers, clerks, storemen, and dog handlers. Guards would be armed while on duty.

DEFENCE OF THE BORDERS

As described in a subsequent chapter, the Defence Force has taken over from the Police Force the defence of the northern borders of South West Africa and the Caprivi Strip.

A socio-economic upliftment programme has been in progress in the Caprivi Strip, one of the aims being to win the goodwill and co-operation of the local population.

The military exercise that was undertaken last year in Gazankulu, fairly close to the Mozambique border, was mentioned on page 86 of the 1973 *Survey*. During May the Army, Navy, and Air Force joined in a practical exercise for the defence of the Zululand shoreline. On both occasions local Africans were kept fully informed, and were asked to co-operate by reporting the presence of any suspicious-looking "invaders".[7]

DEFENCE FURTHER AMENDMENT ACT, NO. 83 OF 1974

Terms of the original Bill

A Defence Further Amendment Bill had been drafted before the S.A. Council of Churches passed its resolution dealing with conscientious objection to military service, described on page 47. The Bill provided *inter alia*, that all persons allotted to the Citizen Force or commandos would be liable to serve over a period of ten years. A proviso previously contained in the Act was to be deleted, *viz.*, that the period would be shortened if the person concerned had completed a period of continuous service. The Minister was to be empowered, in circumstances of urgency, to extend the period during which members of the Citizen Force or Reserve or commandos might be called out for service. It would be an offence to refuse to employ anyone on the ground of this person's liability to serve in the Citizen Force or commandos.

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[6] *Star*, 14 and 15 June; *Sunday Express*, 16 June.
[7] *Sunday Times*, 26 May.

Other clauses of the Bill dealt with compensation or pension benefits payable to members of the forces, and decorations and medals for long service and bravery.

After the SACC's resolution had been adopted by it, the Minister of Defence withdrew the draft Bill and added a clause that is described below.

It should first be mentioned, however, that in terms of the Defence Act of 1957 [8] it is an offence to induce, or to attempt to induce, a member of the Defence Force or any auxiliary service to neglect or to act in conflict with his duty, or to aid or incite a member of the Defence Force or auxiliary service to evade or infringe a lawful order given to him or any law or regulation with which it is his duty to comply. The maximum penalties, on conviction, are, in terms of the Amendment Bill, to be R1 000 or five years or both.

The 1957 Act made certain provision for conscientious objectors.[9] It provided that a registering officer shall as far as may be practicable allot any person who to his knowledge bona fide belongs and adheres to a recognized religious denomination by the tenets whereof its members may not participate in war, to a unit where such person will be able to render service in the defence of the Republic in a non-combatant capacity.

It is, thus, not an offence to refuse to serve other than in a non-combatant capacity if one's bona fide religious denomination is opposed to participation in war, but it is an offence to refuse to serve at all.

In general, members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) when called up for service have elected to serve in non-combatant capacities. So have a number of Seventh Day Adventists. Many members of the Jehovah's Witnesses, however, have refused to serve at all. Such persons have been sentenced to twelve months in an army detention barracks.[10]

Questioned in the Assembly on 13 September,[11] the Minister of Defence said it was Departmental policy that all applications for non-combatant positions were granted. He stated that figures indicating the number of men who had applied for non-combatant positions during 1973 were not readily available. The following other statistics were, however, furnished:

(a) During the first six months of 1974, seven Seventh Day Adventists, one Plymouth Bretheren, and three Jehovah's Witnesses applied for non-combatant positions.

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[8] Section 121 (a) and (b)

[9] Section 67 (3)

[10] Minister of Defence, Assembly 15 August, Hansard 2 cols. 800–5, and *Rand Daily Mail* report, 16 August.

[11] Hansard 6 cols. 448–50

(b) In the July 1974 intake of national servicemen, 27 trainees applied for non-combatant positions. They included 18 Seventh Day Adventists, three Plymouth Bretheren, two Jehovah's Witnesses, one Assembly of God, one Gurumaghara, one Free Church member, one Apostolic Faith Mission.

(c) During 1973, 158 Jehovah's Witnesses and one man belonging to the religion of the Sun God were sentenced for refusing on religious grounds to render service or undergo training.

(d) During the first six months of 1974, 120 Jehovah's Witnesses and two Christ Adelphians were sentenced on the same grounds.

A new and more far-reaching clause than that quoted earlier was added to the Defence Further Amendment Bill before it was introduced in the Assembly.[12] It provided that it would be an offence:

(i) in any manner whatsoever to advise, encourage, aid, incite, or instigate any other person or any category of persons or persons in general; or

(ii) to use any language or do any act or thing calculated to encourage, aid, incite, instigate, suggest to, or otherwise cause any other person or any category of persons or persons in general,

to refuse or fail to render any service to which such other person or a person of such category or persons in general is or are liable or may become liable in terms of the Act. The maximum penalty for persons convicted of this offence was laid down as R10 000 or ten years or both.

Parliamentary debate

When introducing the Bill in the Assembly at its Second Reading,[13] the Minister of Defence referred to the motion passed by the S.A. Council of Churches. In general, he said, the reaction against this motion had been extremely encouraging. Nusas, however, had "turned against the Republic of South Africa's military preparedness in an outrageous manner". The new clause, he stated, was aimed at "those persons who, wrapped in a cloak of sanctimoniousness, are trying to prejudice the security of South Africa". The Minister gave his opinion that, after its Second Reading, the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. W. Vause Raw stated[14] that the United Party would support the Bill at its Second Reading, since it was at one with the Government on the defence of the sovereignty of the State and would support any measures designed to protect the territory of S.A. from assault or attack. The U.P. differed with the

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[12] Proposed new Section 121(c).

[13] 15 August, Hansard 2 cols. 880–5.

[14] Cols. 885–9.

Government on certain clauses of the Bill, but considered that differences could be thrashed out in Select Committee.

The Progressive Party, however, moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee before the Second Reading vote. Mr. C. W. Eglin said [15] that the Government had over-reacted to the resolution of the S.A. Council of Churches. He believed it was important that "we should avoid developing a war-psychosis as opposed to a realization of the danger of conflict". A few provisions of the Bill were so substantial that they amounted to matters of principle, especially the clause dealing with conscientious objection to military service. Dr. A. L. Boraine urged [16] that persons who felt very strongly on religious grounds that they could not serve in the armed forces in any capacity should be given an opportunity of serving their country in a form of national service outside the Defence Force.

The Progressive Party's motion was defeated, the U.P. voting with the Government.

Some reactions outside Parliament

The administrative board of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference issued a Press statement [1] on the clause of the Bill relating to conscientious objection, saying that His Eminence Cardinal Owen McCann would submit a memorandum on behalf of the Conference to the Select Committee, and would apply to appear in person to make representations in support of the memorandum.

The administrative board had agreed that the Bill as it stood was unacceptable. The clause, it said, "appears to aim at the total suppression of all reasonable discussion about conscientious objection and of all comment and counsel relating to it, an extreme measure incompatible with Christ's gospel of peace. The members of the board agree that should the Bill become law in its present form, they would be bound in conscience to disobey it, and would expect clergy and people of their own and other churches to do likewise".

Archbishop Denis Hurley, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, told the Press [2] he believed that in the S.A. situation, unless strenuous efforts were made to reach understanding between White and Black, conscientious objection should become adopted as a principle by the churches. Should S.A. become involved in a border war, this war would have been provoked by the policy of apartheid. To defend White South African society by force of arms was to defend the policy of apartheid. To defend apartheid was to defend an unjust cause. It was not permissible for

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[15] Cols. 827—8; 1452—60.
[16] Cols. 1473—4.
[1] e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 September.
[2] *Sunday Times*, 8 and 22 September.

Christians to fight an unjust war. (The Minister of Defence challenged this statement, saying that if S.A. became involved in a border war, this would result from interference by communist countries in the affairs of Africa.[3])

A memorandum to put before the Select Committee was prepared by the Pretoria Justice and Peace Commission, a clerical and lay body of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Pretoria.[4] It viewed the new clause of the Bill with grave misgivings, as being destructive of human integrity and incompatible with Christ's Gospel of peace. The clause placed an onus on the individual conscience which it could not hope to bear with integrity. If the clause were to be enforced, violence would be done to the most basic of human "constructs"—namely the freedom to respond to the promptings of conscience.

Archbishop Bill Burnett of the Church of the Province of S.A. (Anglican) said [5] that his Church would apply to appear before the Select Committee. In any event, written evidence would be submitted.

The Anglican Bishop-elect of Johannesburg, Dean Timothy Bavin, told the Press [6] that he did not see how he could fail to agree with the Roman Catholic bishops' stand. He, too, found the Bill unacceptable, and if it became law, would disobey it. Other churchmen expressed similar views.

Chief Lucas Mangope of BophuthaTswana commented [7] that if the proposed clause became law it would be very difficult for homeland leaders to put their case to their people that the volunteering for military service should be conditional on being given a real stake in S.A. "We are prepared to lay down our lives in defence of our country, but life is sacred . . . We do not want anybody to get the impression that we are prepared to defend the country for the privileged position of others and the disabilities and inequalities that we are subjected to." Similar views had, previously, been expressed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Mr. Sonny Leon. Dr. Cedric Phatudi stated that he was in full agreement.

Report of the Select Committee

The Select Committee was composed of nine N.P., three U.P., and one P.P. members. According to Press reports, various amendments to the main controversial clause that were proposed by the Opposition members were rejected by the majority. One change only to this clause was recommended in the majority report, *viz* that it be rendered an offence to use any language or do any act or thing *with intent to recommend to*, (instead of "calculated to") encourage or in any way cause any person or category of persons to refuse or fail to render any service to which they are liable under the Defence Act.

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[3] Assembly, 9 September, Hansard 6 col. 2485.
[4] *Star*, 13 September.
[5] *Star*, 5 September.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 September

Third Reading Debate

During the Third Reading debate the Minister accepted a U.P. amendment that the maximum penalty for inciting a person not to serve in the Defence Force be reduced from R10 000 or ten years or both to R5 000 or six years or both. The Minister said that genuine conscientious objectors could serve in non-combatant positions without weapons even if they did not belong to recognised pacifist churches. He was willing to meet church leaders to discuss the measure. The Bill was passed with only the P.P. voting against it.

RIOTOUS ASSEMBLIES AMENDMENT ACT, NO. 30 OF 1974

Purpose of the Act

When introducing the Bill in the Assembly[1], the Deputy Minister of Justice said that in recent years problems had emerged in regard to the principal Act of 1956. It had, for example, been found that the power of magistrates to prohibit gatherings was too limited. The Act sometimes required exact compliance with elaborate formalities at a time of emergency. In this way effective action was impeded and offenders were afforded the opportunity of procuring an acquittal on technical grounds. In addition, the Act covered only public gatherings in defined public places in the open air. Gatherings in other places could not be prohibited or controlled, regardless of how dangerous a situation they might create. (The Deputy Minister's further explanations, in reply to the Parliamentary debate, are given later.)

Terms of the Act

The principal Act (1914, as amended) dealt with public gatherings held in public places. The 1974 Amendment Act deleted the word "public" throughout the measure. The definition of a gathering was altered. Previously it meant "any gathering, concourse, or procession in, through, or along any public place, of twelve or more persons having a common purpose, whether such purpose be lawful or unlawful". In terms of the amendment a "gathering" means any gathering, concourse, or procession of any number of persons. In cases where a blanket ban is imposed on gatherings, the word means "a gathering, concourse, or procession of any number of persons having a common purpose, whether such purpose be lawful or unlawful"

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[1] 21 February, Hansard 3 cols. 1477–82.

The powers of magistrates under the Act were increased. Without recourse to the Minister of Justice, a magistrate may prohibit any or every gathering, or any particular gathering, or any specified kind of gathering, at a specified place or everywhere in his district, for a period not exceeding 48 hours, if he has reason to apprehend that the public peace is seriously threatened. He may allow exemptions.

The Minister may prohibit any or every gathering, or any particular gathering, or any specified kind of gathering, at a specified place or in a specified area or everywhere in the Republic, for any period or during specified times or periods, if he deems such action to be necessary or expedient for the maintenance of the public peace, or if he has reason to apprehend that unless such action is taken feelings or hostility will be engendered between Whites and Blacks, or if he has reason to apprehend that such hostility will be endangered if a particular person were to attend a gathering. Exemptions may be authorized by the Minister or a magistrate.

As before, the Minister may prohibit a particular person from attending a gathering.

It was previously an offence to convene, preside at, or address a public gathering that had been prohibited, or to encourage or promote it in any way or make its proposed assembly known in any manner. The 1974 Act rendered it an offence, also, to attend a prohibited gathering.

A police officer of or above the rank of Warrant Officer may disperse a gathering which takes place despite a prohibition order, or one that becomes or threatens to become riotous. He was previously required to try to obtain the attention of those present, then in a loud voice to warn them three times that force would be used unless they left the place of assembly within a time specified by him. In terms of the amendments, he will be required in a loud voice to order them in each of the official languages to depart within a specified time. The order need not be repeated, and warning of the use of force need not be given.

Parliamentary debate

On behalf of the United Party, Mr. M. L. Mitchell [2] said that the removal of the word "public" and the change in the definition of "gathering" together resulted in a piece of legislation which differed completely from the law that the public had accepted for the past sixty years. The measure was an unnecessary invasion of the privacy of people. He described absurdities that could arise in private homes or clubs during the period of a blanket ban on gatherings.

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[2] Cols. 1487—96

Mr. Mitchell conceded that the Government might have a case if it attempted merely to confer power to prohibit gatherings on private property which might escalate into the public street.

He moved to omit all the words after "That" and to substitute "this House, mindful of the need to ensure public peace and order as the foundation for individual freedoms, and being at all times prepared to give to the Executive reasonable powers for the maintenance of such public peace and order when circumstances warrant it, declines to pass the Second Reading of the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Bill, because, *inter alia*,

"(a) the Bill permits the exercise of arbitrary powers which could result in unwarranted and unjustified interference in the private lives and rights of individuals to an extent not necessary for the maintenance of public peace and order;

"(b) the Bill abandons the principles of the law relating to riotous assemblies and the disturbance of public peace and order which have been applied and accepted in South Africa for sixty years; and

"(c) the Bill fails to provide adequate safeguards against injustices to innocent individuals and organizations."

Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) moved [3] that the Bill be read that day six months. It stemmed, she maintained, from the Government's ignominious failure to secure convictions against student protesters at the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand in 1972 and 1973.[4] A considerable amount of taxpayers' money had had to be paid in making *ex gratia* payments to settle many of these cases.

The Minister was clearly determined, Mrs. Suzman said, that university campuses should be open to the police in cases where he decided to ban meetings there. She believed that powers that were being taken in terms of the Bill would be used against students and against workers who held meetings in protest against low wages, and eventually against all the Government's opponents. The measure was yet another step in the process of silencing opposition.

In the course of his reply to the debate [5] the Deputy Minister said it had been fortunate for the Government that the students to whom Mrs. Suzman had referred had taken court action, for the court cases had indicated indisputably that the Act had been archaic, and could not be adapted to meet the existing situation in S.A. He referred, for example, to a gathering on the steps of St. George's Cathedral in 1972. The courts had deemed that this did not constitute a gathering within the meaning of the Act because there were never more than eleven persons on the steps at any one time. People had milled about so that it was impossible to know when they were part of the public and when they were part of the gathering.

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[3] Cols. 1537—43.

[4] This matter is described in the chapter of this *Survey* dealing with student organizations.

[5] Cols. 1600—8.

The Deputy Minister discounted U.P. claims that a blanket ban on gatherings could affect even private bridge parties, where players had the common purpose of playing bridge. A "common purpose" was laid down in the administration of justice as "a common objective plus a concerted action", he said. The Appeal Court had ruled that at a purely social gathering there was no intention of achieving anything by concerted action. Further, the common purpose must be of such a nature that there was reason to apprehend that it would seriously endanger the public peace.

Certain people, he alleged, were attempting to bring about change, if necessary involving the use of force, which was aimed at overthrowing the entire system of government in S.A. They made use, where they could, of churchmen, of students, and, recently, of workers, inciting them to strike. It would be irresponsible of the Government, the Deputy Minister maintained, not to obtain the necessary powers in time to enable it to combat this situation. It had become essential to streamline the Act so that, if serious disturbances did occur, the authorities would be in a position to take more rapid action that was within the law.

Opposition by others

Strong opposition to the Bill was expressed by a considerable number of organizations and individuals, including the Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute, the Black Sash, and Nusas.

GATHERINGS THAT HAVE BEEN PROHIBITED

On 29 March the magistrate of Durban informed five local newspapers and the S.A. Broadcasting Corporation that he had reason to apprehend that the public peace would be seriously endangered by a gathering advertised as Heroes Day Sharpeville Commemorative Service, to be held in the hall of the YMCA, Beatrice St., on 30 March. The Press speculated[6] that this meeting was to have been organized by the S.A. Students' Organization.

Also during March, students of the University of Cape Town applied to the chief magistrate for permission to stage a protest demonstration against a State visit to S.A. by President Alfredo Stoessner of Paraguay. The Deputy Minister of Justice issued Government Notice 592 of 1 April, in which he deemed it expedient for the maintenance of the public peace to prohibit any such protest or demonstration.

Government Notice 1362 of 9 August prohibited until 11 August 1976 certain forms of outdoor gatherings in part of the central area of Cape Town. The gatherings prohibited were:

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[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 March.

1. gatherings, concourses, or processions in or through the area of twelve or more persons having a common purpose;
2. gatherings (which a particular person may be prohibited from attending) at which any form of State or any principle or policy of the Government of a State is propagated, defended, attacked, criticised, or discussed, or at which any person, cause, action, or contemplated action or failure to take action is protested against.

Exemptions may be granted by the magistrate.

On 24 September the Minister of Justice prohibited until 20 October any meetings, anywhere in the country, to be held by or on behalf of the S.A. Students' Organization or the Black People's Convention. By means of pamphlets and banners these bodies had made it known that they were planning to convene pro-Frelimo rallies.

Despite this ban, meetings were held the next day at Curries Fountain, Durban, and at the University of the North (Turfloop). About 1 000 people assembled to attend the Durban gathering. Through a loud-hailer, a police officer issued several orders to this crowd to disperse. It was reported that stones and bottles were thrown at the police while he spoke. Using about 20 dogs, the police then broke up the meeting. Several arrests were made. After between 450 and 500 Turfloop students had failed to heed a warning to disperse, the police charged with batons and fired tear-gas cartridges. Cars belonging to members of the university staff were stoned and four members of staff injured. Subsequent events at this university are described in the chapter on Education.

After the meetings, the police searched the offices and homes of Saso and B.P.C. members at various centres in S.A., making a number of further arrests. The detention of the persons concerned is dealt with in the chapter on Justice.

The editor of the *Natal Daily News* was arrested for having published a report that the ban on gatherings was "to be defied". Under the provisions of the Riotous Assemblies Act it is an offence to "advertise" a meeting that has been prohibited. Bail was allowed. It was announced later that both the editor and the senior assistant editor would be tried in the Durban Regional Court on 27 November. After the hearing, judgment was reserved.

The Acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg prohibited any gathering of the Transvaal Youth Organization to be held from midnight on 28 September to midnight on 3 October.

RESTRICTION ORDERS ON PERSONS

The Institute of Race Relations published a memorandum entitled "Suppression of Communism Act: Notes on Action Taken Against Persons" (RR. 58/1974) which set out the provisions of the Act in regard to the "listing" and "banning" of persons. "Listed" persons are those whose names have been listed in terms of

Section 3 of the Act as having at any time been office-bearers, officers, members or active supporters of an organization that has been declared to be unlawful. A person may be "banned" (i.e. served with orders restricting his activities) if the Minister of Justice is satisfied that he is in any way encouraging the achievement of any of the objects of communism, or is likely to do so, or engages in activities which may do so. (Sections 5 and 9). The implications of being listed or banned are described in the memorandum.

It would appear, from records maintained by the writer over the years, that at the end of April there were 459 names on the list. Considerable numbers of names had been removed after the persons concerned had successfully applied for this to be done, or if they had died. Details are:

	No. of names on the list	*Of these, no. of persons also subject to restriction orders*
Whites	188	70
Coloured	43	10
Asians	57	19
Africans	171	33
	459	132

According to the same records, the total numbers of persons who had been banned since the Act came into operation in 1951, and the number of restriction orders apparently in force at the end of April, were:

	Total number banned	*Orders in force at the end of April*
Whites	139	37
Coloured	84	28
Asians	104	35
Africans	913	106
	1 240	206

Many of the restriction orders had been allowed to lapse, or were withdrawn. On the other hand, a number had been renewed on their expiration, twice or even three times.

According to the latest official list, published in the *Government Gazette* of 26 July (Government Notice R 1298) the total numbers of persons then banned were 31 Whites and 155 Blacks.

It was stated in the Assembly on 9 August on behalf of the Minister of Justice[1] that, during the year ended 30 June,

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[1] Hansard 1 Question col. 12

72 banning orders were issued;
84 were allowed to expire and 2 were withdrawn;
11 were renewed, of which 4 had been renewed once before.

The Minister said on 17 September [2] that 62 of the banning orders issued during 1973 were served on persons on their release from jail after serving sentences under the security laws. The equivalent figure for 1974 was 30.

During December 1973 a five-year banning order was served on Dr. Manas Buthelezi, a Lutheran minister, Natal regional director of the Christian Institute, and a first cousin of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. He was prohibited from attending social or political gatherings and from addressing students, but was not confined to any specific area. His passport was not confiscated, and he used it during April to attend a meeting in Geneva of the Lutheran World Federation. Then, in May, the restriction order was withdrawn, no reason being given.[3]

Another five-year order that was withdrawn without explanation was that served during 1973 on the Rev. Hamilton Qambela, who at the time had been acting president of the S.A. Students' Organization.

An order which had been in force for ten years against Mr. Peter Brown, national president of the former Liberal Party, was allowed to lapse during July. It nevertheless appeared, according to legal opinion [4], that it remained an offence for anyone to record, publish, or disseminate any utterance or writing of Mr. Brown's except with the Minister's consent.[5]

Among those banned for five-year periods during 1974 were three men (Messrs. Halton Cheadle, David Hemson, and David Davis) who had been involved in the Students' Wages Commission at the University of Natal and in the organization of African trade unions. They were, *inter alia*, subjected to house arrest.

Several people have been banned for a third consecutive period of five years, including Mr. Mohamed Bhana (former S.A. Indian Congress), and Mrs. Albertina Sisulu (wife of Mr. Walter Sisulu, ex-ANC, who is serving a life sentence on Robben Island).

In the course of an American television interview on 19 April, the Prime Minister is widely reported to have said that a banned person was entitled to ask for the reasons why he was banned, and "these reasons are given to him".

In terms of the Act [6] the Minister must, if requested, furnish a banned person with a statement setting forth his reasons for the banning order and so much of the information which induced him to issue it as can, in his opinion, be disclosed without detriment to public policy. After the Prime Minister's statement Messrs. David de Beer, David Hemson, Mewa Ramgobin, and Morgan Naidoo wrote to the Minister asking the reasons for their banning. They were in due course informed that "the information which induced the Minister to issue the notices can, in his opinion, not be disclosed without detriment to public policy". In Mr. De Beer's case the Minister added, "Keeping in mind the definition of communism in the Act [7] you should, however, have no difficulty in identifying those aspects of your activities which gave rise to the actions taken against you."

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[2] Hansard 7 cols. 474—5
[3] *Star*, 7 December 1973 and 28 May; *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 April
[4] Quoted in the *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 August
[5] Section 11 (g) *bis* of the Act
[6] Sections 9(2) and 10 (1) *bis*

In the Assembly on 8 February [8] it was stated on behalf of the Minister of Justice that, during 1973, 16 persons had been prosecuted and 11 convicted for non-compliance with the terms of restriction orders.

BANNING ORDERS THAT MAY BE IMPOSED BY HOMELAND GOVERNMENTS

Sections 1 and 10 of the Second Bantu Laws Amendment Act No. 71 of 1974, amend the Transkei Constitution Act and the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act to enable homeland governments to impose certain types of banning orders. The legislative and executive powers of the Republic will, however, be retained in the areas of the homeland governments.

The new Act provides that a homeland government may, within its area and for the purpose of maintaining public safety, public peace, order, or good government—

(a) prohibit any organization of which Africans are members or allowed to become members, and the membership of any such organization;
(b) prohibit the furtherance, in any manner, of the objects of any such organization;
(c) place prohibition or restriction orders on any African who is an office-bearer of any such organization;
(d) restrict the presence of any African to a particular place or area;
(e) prohibit the publication or dissemination of the contents of any speech, utterance, writing, or statement of any African.

These powers, however, may be exercised only provided that the homeland government:

(i) is not acting in conflict with any Act or legislative power of Parliament, or with the powers and duties of any authority or person in the Republic in terms of any law;
[illegible] is acting only with the prior approval of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

On 21 October, during the Second Reading debate on the Bill, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the Transkei and Ciskei had asked for a measure of this nature. The other homeland governments, all of which had received copies of the draft Bill, had made no adverse comment: Gazankulu had expressed approval.[9]

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[7] A very wide definition. See the Institute's memorandum RR. 58/1974.

[8] Hansard 1 Questions col. 32.

Both the United Party and the Progressive Party opposed the measure strongly at all its stages, the P.P. moving that it be read that day six months.[10]

BANISHMENT ORDER

The Government's powers of banishing Africans from one place to another within the Republic, conferred by Section 5(1) (b) of the Bantu Administration Act, 1927, were invoked in October for the first time in some years. Mr. L. L. Mtshizana was banished from the Mdantsane district, near East London, to the district of Herschel bordering on Lesotho.

REMOVAL ORDERS IN THE TRANSKEI

Detentions of persons in the Transkei in terms of Proclamation 400 of 1960 are described in a subsequent chapter. This proclamation also empowered a chief so authorized by the Minister to order persons under his control to move, with their households and property, from one place to another within the chief's area of jurisdiction. In reply to a question in the Assembly on 16 September,[1] the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that a total of 27 Transkeian citizens were then living under removal orders, which were served on them between 1961 and 1972.

TRAVEL DOCUMENTS

According to various statements by the Minister of the Interior, and the Departmental Report for 1973,[2] the authorities issued 216 013 passports during that year. Passports were refused to 152 S.A. citizens (57 Asians, 44 Africans, 30 Whites, and 21 Coloured). Eighteen passports were withdrawn.

The deportation orders issued totalled 284, but 45 of these were suspended "subject to good behaviour".

Applications for visas numbered 220 804, of which 1 786 were refused. Among persons whose applications were refused in late 1973 and in 1974 were Professor Gwendolen Carter and Professor Thomas Karis, the American academics who have made special studies in S.A., Dr. J. Feddema, a senior lecturer at the Free University of Amsterdam, Dr. Albert van den Heuvel, Secretary-general of the Netherlands Reformed Church, and Professor Keith Sorrenson from New Zealand who had been involved in the cancellation of the Springbok rugby tour of his country in 1973.

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[9] Assembly Hansard 12 cols. 5915-6.
[10] Col. 5891.
[1] Hansard 7 col. 461.
[2] 5, 6, and 19 February, Hansard 1 cols. 190–2 and Question col. 6, Hansard 3 col. 108, Star, 6 August.

The banned trade unionist, Mr. David Davis, left S.A. secretly, on a valid passport, and was granted asylum in Britain. The banned Nusas leader, Mr. Philippe le Roux, left for London on an exit permit.

Two further members of the S.A. Students' Organization, Messrs. Theo Moatshe and "Oupa" Khoape, escaped from the country to join other exiles in Botswana.[3] One of these exiles, Mr. Abraham Tiro, was killed in Botswana by a parcel bomb explosion, the parcel having been sent from Geneva. Seven more escaped later.

The Nusas leader, Neville Curtis, escaped from S.A. to Australia.

PROHIBITION OF FOMENTING INTER-GROUP HOSTILITY

Section 29(1) of the Bantu Administration Act, 1927, prohibited the fomenting of feelings of hostility between Africans and Whites. This prohibition was extended to all racial groups in terms of Section 1 of the Second General Law Amendment Act, No. 94 of 1974, which provided that "Any person who utters words or performs any other act with intent to cause, encourage or foment feelings of hostility between different population groups of the Republic shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R2 000 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding two years, or to both such fine and such imprisonment".

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[3] See 1973 Survey, page 98.

CONTROL OF MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

ACTION TAKEN BY THE PUBLICATIONS CONTROL BOARD

The establishment of a Publications Control Board under the Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963, and the functions of this board, were described on pages 63 *et seq* of last year's *Survey*.

A series of questions about the activities of the Board was put to the Minister of the Interior in the Assembly during February and August.[1] It transpired that, since its inception in 1963 and up to August, the Board prohibited 8 768 publications and 87 other objects (excluding films). Of these 8 728 publications and 78 other objects remained prohibited in August. (These figures exclude publications that were prohibited between 1956 and 1963 under the Customs and Excise Act and the Suppression of Communism Act.)

During 1973, 189 publications and 6 other objects were submitted to the Board by members of the public, and 1 019 publications and 16 other objects were submitted in terms of the Customs and Excise Act. Altogether, during that year, the Board prohibited 855 publications and 34 other objects. Nine appeals against decisions by the Board were made to the Supreme Court in 1973, of which three succeeded, in respect of one issue of *Scope* and two issues of *Die Brandwag*.

So far as full-length feature films are concerned, during 1973:

252 were approved unconditionally;

507 were approved subject to exhibition only to persons of a particular race or class (e.g. age group);

395 were approved subject to excision of a specified portion;

129 were prohibited.

There were 78 appeals to the Minister against these decisions. He altered 27 of the decisions concerned.

In the first six months of 1974, 40 appeals in respect of films were made to the Minister. He altered the Board's decisions in seven cases.

The Minister of Justice said on 13 August[2] that during the year ended 30 June 1963, 70 persons were charged with contraventions of the Publications and Entertainments Act, 59 of them being convicted.

The Performing Arts Centre of the University of the Witwatersrand agreed to sponsor five performances of J. M. Tebelak's musical *Godspell*, to be produced by Des and Dawn

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[1] 19 February, Hansard 3 col. 105; 25 February, Hansard 4 cols. 155 and 160; 13 August, Hansard 2 col. 65; 16 August, Hansard 2 col. 113.

[2] Hansard 2 col. 58.

Lindberg with a multi-racial cast, and staged at the university before privately-invited mixed audiences consisting of members of staff and of convocation and students. Some 10 000 tickets were sold. The first performance was to be on 12 March. On 8 March, however, the Minister of the Interior banned the performances on the ground that "the religious convictions or feelings" of certain people might be offended. Members of the Publications Control Board had not seen the play, but the film of it had been banned when it came to S.A.

After the Lindbergs had made an urgent application to the Rand Supreme Court the judge, Mr. Justice Snyman, allowed the first performance to take place to enable him to see the musical before he came to a decision. People who had booked tickets for the first night were allowed to attend. The judge afterwards ruled that, provided certain minor alterations were made, the musical could continue to play at the university before mixed audiences.[3]

A film banned by the Publications Control Board was *Land Apart*, a political documentary produced and directed by Sven Persson. According to reports of interviews with Mr. Persson,[4] this film began with the historical backgrounds of Afrikaners, English-speaking Whites, and Black people in S.A., and went on to show how they became intermingled. The central theme was people's reactions to separate development. Excerpts from newsreels were used as well as original interviews, presenting the views of a wide cross-section of prominent people of various political parties and racial groups (including the Prime Minister) on the problems facing the country, and suggested solutions.

PUBLICATIONS ACT, NO. 42 OF 1974

Report of the Commission of Inquiry

The 1973 draft Publications and Entertainments Amendment Bill, and the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to examine this matter, were described on pages 66—7 of last year's *Survey*. As mentioned, the Commission consisted of the then Deputy Minister of the Interior (Mr. J. T. Kruger) as chairman, eight other members of the National Party, and four members of the United Party.

The report of the Commission was published as R.P.17/1974. It contained a majority report by the N.P. members, a new draft Bill based on this, and a minority report by the U.P. members. The Bill was designed to replace the Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963, which, it was recommended, should be repealed.

A Parliamentary Bill, based entirely on the majority report, was published early in 1974, but not proceeded with. A revised Publications Bill, substantially the same, was introduced in the

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[3] From various Press reports from 9 to 13 March.
[4] *Sunday Times*, 3 March; *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 March.

Assembly during August and, with minor amendments, became law.

Terms of the Publications Act

(a) Introductory paragraph

The Act contains an introductory paragraph reading, "In the application of this Act the constant endeavour of the population of the Republic of South Africa to uphold a Christian view of life shall be recognized".

(b) Directorate of Publications

The Publications Control Board is to be replaced by a Directorate of Publications, with a director, deputy director, and up to three assistant directors, all appointed by the Minister of the Interior. The functions of the Directorate will be mainly of an administrative nature.

(c) Committees

A series of committees will decide in the first instance whether publications or objects, films, or public entertainments are undesirable or not.

The Directorate will from time to time appoint such number of committees as it may consider necessary, each consisting of not fewer than three members. Their period of office will be determined on their appointment. Members will be chosen from a panel of persons compiled annually by the Minister and supplemented as considered desirable. The Minister will indicate which of these persons are in his opinion fit to perform the functions of chairmen of committees.

(d) Advisory committees

The Executive Committees of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and of the S.A. Indian Council will each be invited to appoint an advisory committee to advise the main committees, when requested to do so, in regard to questions relating to the exhibition of films to members of their respective racial groups.

(e) Consideration by committees of publications or objects

Members of the public or customs officers will be entitled to request the Directorate to arrange for a committee to examine any publication or object and to decide whether or not it is undesirable. A fee may be required from members of the public. The Directorate will have power of its own accord to submit any publication or object to a committee. The committee's decisions will be made known by the Directorate to the persons concerned.

Committees will give reasons for their decisions which will, on request, be communicated to the interested parties.

A committee may declare a publication, or a publication and all subsequent issues of it, to be undesirable. (The definition of "undesirable" is given later.) It may also prohibit the importation of publications published by a specific publisher or dealing with any special subject. It may prohibit the possession by any person of a publication or object deemed undesirable. Exemptions from these provisions may be granted by permit.

Any prohibition of the possession of a publication or object must be referred at once by the Directorate to the Publications Appeal Board (described later), which will confirm or set aside the decision.

Persons who produce, distribute, import, and (if this is prohibited) possess a prohibited publication or object will be committing an offence. Certain exceptions are made, for example in regard to the printing or publication of proceedings in courts of law, or of matters in publications of a bona fide religious nature or bona fide intended for the advancement of a particular profession or branch of arts, literature, or science.

Anyone authorized thereto by the Minister may enter any place where publications or objects are publicly displayed or are sold or hired out, or if it is reasonably suspected that any undesirable publication or object is printed or reproduced there. Such an authorized person may examine any publication or object that is on reasonable grounds suspected of being undesirable, and may seize a publication or a copy of it or an object if it appears to contravene the Act. Should such action be taken, a report will be made to the Directorate.

Any person affected by a decision of a committee, or the Directorate itself, may appeal to the Publications Appeal Board against such decision. Members of the public will have to pay a prescribed fee. The Minister may ask the Board to consider a committee's decision that a publication or object is not undesirable.

Decisions that a publication or object is undesirable will be reviewed after the lapse of two years on the application of any person and payment of the prescribed fee, or if the Directorate so requests. Again, appeals against the committee's decision may be made to the Appeal Board.

Particulars relating to publications or objects found to be undesirable will be published in the *Gazette*. A list of such publications dealt with during the year will be gazetted annually, and a consolidated list every five years.

A publisher must ensure that his name and business address are printed in a conspicuous place upon or in every publication he produces.

(f) Films

The definition of a film includes film cassettes, tape cassettes, video-plates, etc. It excludes films made or imported by the S.A. Broadcasting Corporation or any department of State.

No-one may exhibit any film in public, or exhibit to any person anywhere any film that is intended to be exhibited in public, or publish any film, unless it has been approved by a committee. It will still be legal to make and screen or play amateur films, photographic slides, tape recordings, etc., provided that this is done privately, but if it is to be done in public, even at clubs, approval is required. The Secretary for Customs and Excise will not release direct to importers any films intended for public exhibition, but will transmit these to the Director of Publications for examination by a committee. Exemptions from these provisions may be granted.

A committee may approve or reject a film unconditionally, or may approve it subject to conditions. Should a committee decide on any cuts, these will be made by officials, or by the importer or producer under the supervision of an official.

If any question arises in connection with the exhibition of a film to Coloured persons or Indians, the committee will refer the question to the appropriate advisory committee.

If a committee rejects a film or approves it subject to conditions, the applicant or the director may appeal to the Appeal Board.

If a committee approves a film, the director may appeal to the Appeal Board. The Minister may direct the Appeal Board to reconsider its decision. In either case, the person who submitted the film or has a direct financial interest in it may submit written representations to the Board.

If a film is rejected or conditionally approved, after the lapse of two years any person may ask for the decision to be reconsidered. A prescribed fee must be paid.

No person may conduct the business of maker or distributor of films unless he has been registered under the Act.

Various offences under these provisions are specified.

(g) Public entertainments

The Directorate may at any time bring any public entertainment or intended public entertainment to the notice of a committee. The committee will then decide whether or not the entertainment is or will be undesirable, or whether conditions should be imposed. As in the case of films, appeal against a decision lies to the Appeal Board, and decisions may be reviewed after a lapse of two years.

(h) Publications Appeal Board

The Publications Appeal Board will consist of not fewer than three members. The chairman, designated by the State President for a period of five years, will be a lawyer who in the State President's opinion is fit to serve in this capacity by reason of his tenure of a judicial office or through experience as an advocate, attorney, or lecturer in law at any university for a period of not less than ten years.

The State President will nominate at least five persons who in his opinion are suitable to be members of the Appeal Board by reason of their educational qualifications and experience. One of them, possessing the same qualifications required of the chairman, will be a person deemed suitable to act as chairman of the Board when necessary. From the list of persons deemed suitable (unless this is for any reason impossible) the chairman will appoint other members of the Board whenever it is necessary to do so, to perform such functions of the Board as he may determine. The Board may in its discretion consult persons it considers to be experts.

Persons who appeal will have the right to appear before the Board, or to be represented by their legal representatives, and to question witnesses summoned by the Board, but may not themselves give or adduce evidence unless the Board grants permission. Members of the public may not attend proceedings unless specially permitted to do so.

A decision of a committee, the Directorate, or the Appeal Board will not be subject to an appeal to a court of law.

A full Bench of three judges of a division of the Supreme Court will, however, on application have the right of review of decisions of the Publications Appeal Board. Should the judges set aside a decision, they may refer the matter in question back to the Board for its reconsideration. If a decision is set aside on the ground that the Board acted *mala fides* when making it, the court will give the decision which the Board in its opinion should have made.

When introducing the Bill[1], the Minister of the Interior said it would be a function of the Board to establish uniformity in judging standards. The Board would give full reasons for its decisions, which would be open to inspection by the public, and would be submitted to chairmen of committees for their guidance.

(i) Permits and exemptions

Permits and exemptions from decisions will be granted by the Directorate, which may impose conditions. Aggrieved persons may appeal to the Appeal Board, on payment of the prescribed fee.

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[1] Assembly, 12 August, Hansard 2 col. 470.

(j) Penalties for offences under the Act

The general penalty is a fine of not more than R500, or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, or both.

There are, however, more severe penalties for persons convicted more than once of offences in relation to:

(i) the production of undesirable publications or objects, their distribution, or (should this have been prohibited) their possession or importation;
(ii) the exhibition or publication of films in contravention of prescribed conditions;
(iii) the giving of any public entertainment in conflict with any prohibition or condition imposed.

These penalties are:

on second conviction, a fine of not less than R500 and not more than R1 000, or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months, or both;

on a third or subsequent conviction, a fine of not less than R1 000, or imprisonment for a period of not less than six months, or both.

(k) Regulations

The Minister may make regulations under the Act prescribing fees, forms of documents and other matters, and specifying the period, conditions of office, and remuneration of members of the Appeal Board, committees, and the Directorate.

(l) Definition of "undesirable"

"Any publication or object, film, public entertainment or intended public entertainment shall be deemed to be undesirable if it or any part of it—

(a) is indecent or obscene, or is offensive or harmful to public morals;
(b) is blasphemous or is offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic;
(c) brings any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt;
(d) is harmful to the relations between any sections of the inhabitants of the Republic;
(e) is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare or the peace and good order;
(f) discloses with reference to any judicial proceedings—
  (i) any matter which is indecent or obscene or offensive or harmful to public morals;
  (ii) any indecent or obscene medical, surgical or physiological details the disclosure of which is likely to be offensive or harmful to public morals;

(iii) for the dissolution or a declaration of nullity of a marriage or for judicial separation or for restitution of conjugal rights, any particulars other than—
  (aa) the names, addresses and occupations of the parties and witnesses;
  (bb) a concise statement of the allegations, defences, and counter-allegations in support of which evidence has been given;
  (cc) submissions on any point of law arising in the course of the proceedings, and the decision of the court thereon;
  (dd) the judgment and the verdict of the court and any observations made by the judge in giving the judgment."

(m) Consequential amendments to other Acts

Consequential amendments are made to the Post Office Act, the Customs and Excise Act, and the Indecent or Obscene Photographic Matter Act.

Minority report

In their minority report the four U.P. members of the Commission stated that it was over the issue of the proposed abolition of the right of appeal to courts of law that they decided it was impossible for them to continue trying to find a common approach with the National Party members. They referred to the very widespread opposition that there had been to this threat when the matter was first raised, in 1973. The right of review proposed to be granted to the Supreme Court excluded consideration of the merits of a case, they said. The Court would be confined to an examination of such matters as whether the committees and Appeal Board had acted in good faith, without concealed or improper motives, and with a proper regard for the statutes within which these bodies operated. Sessions of the Appeal Board (unlike those of courts of law) would not be open to the public, and the appellants would have no right to give or to lead evidence.

The minority objected strongly to the minimum penalties laid down.

To extend the State's powers and the machinery of censorship on the basis envisaged by the majority would require the creation of an organization costly in manpower and money without any certainty that it would eliminate the harm that undesirable publications and entertainments might actually cause, the minority considered.

They objected to the wide powers of appointment and intervention to be granted to the Minister. The Government would be able to influence the operation of the Act, they maintained. Members of committees and of the Board of Appeal would be selected from persons nominated by the Minister or the State President, respectively. The chairman of the Board of Appeal would be dependent upon the Government for his re-appointment after the expiry of five years. The Minister would have the power to exert political influence on the Appeal Board by instructing it to review the decision of a committee to approve a publication, object, or film.

A further point of disagreement was the wide powers to be granted to committees:

(a) after only one issue of a periodical had appeared or had been examined, to ban all future issues, and thus, possibly, to close down an entire enterprise;

(b) to forbid the importation of everything issued by a particular publisher, or everything dealing with a particular subject,

(c) to declare the mere possession of a publication or an object a punishable offence, even though its possession might up to that time have been legal.

Objections were made to the wide authority to be granted to the Directorate, not only to establish, advise, and direct the activities of committees, but also to exercise arbitrary powers of its own.

The powers of entry upon premises were opposed, too.

The whole proposed machinery was too bureaucratic, the minority considered. Except in the case of imported pornographic material (which reached its market through channels that were little affected by formal bannings), official control should be phased out, greater responsibility being given by law to those who published to exercise voluntary restraint. The Press already had its own Code. An Association of Theatre Managers existed. Self-regulatory councils should be created in the book, magazine, film, and theatre trades. Suggestions were made as to how self-restraint could be exercised.

There would remain a strong case for the protection of young people from undesirable publications and entertainments. The principle of applying age restrictions in respect of certain films was already generally accepted. Legislation might be introduced to act as a deterrent, prohibiting the employment of obscene or offensive material to exploit the innocence of the young for commercial or other ends. Severe penalties should be provided for such offences.

The minority considered that a sense of outrage or offence which could be clearly expressed was a far more discernable criterion than was any assumption about the depraving effect of pornography. It was, moreover, one which the courts were eminently qualified to apply. They suggested that if the existing Publications and Entertainments Act were repealed, offences against this criterion be defined through other legislation.

Parliamentary debate

After the Minister of the Interior had moved the Second Reading of the Publications Bill[2] Mr. L. G. Murray, on behalf of the U.P., moved as an amendment[3] that the measure be read that day six months. It had so many objectionable provisions that the existing Act, with all its deficiencies, was preferable. The machinery that was contemplated was impractical and would lead to chaos. It would inhibit literacy endeavour and frustrate the arts generally.

Mr. Murray said, "The Bill does contain one provision that pleases me, although it is a very timid provision, and that is the tentative attempt to allow the Coloured and Indian population in S.A. to have some say in regard to the control of publications . . . However, I cannot go along with the Minister that there is no rôle for the Bantu people to play in this regard." Mr. Murray and other U.P. speakers expounded on the arguments contained in the Minority Report.

Speaking on behalf of the P.P.,[4] Mr. R. M. de Villiers supported Mr. Murray's amendment. "We believe," he said, "that it is neither possible nor necessary nor desirable to try to lay down in statute form hard-and-fast moral norms for an entire community . . . We believe that most people behave reasonably . . . Obviously there are exceptions . . . but there the courts will exercise control . . . The laws of the land are adequate to cope with the situation . . .

"This Bill is going to create . . . the danger of what I want to call pre-natal censorship . . . Publishers, writers, and other creative people, rather than run the risk of having their work banned, are going to play for safety and censor themselves. This is going to stifle their creative spirit. This is the high road to mediocrity and to deadly conformity."

In the course of his reply to a very lengthy Second Reading debate, the Minister said[5] that panels of persons from which committees would be appointed would be nominated in every major centre, composed of a cross-section of the population. Any person, of any race group, was welcome to suggest to the Minister the names of persons who were competent to serve on a committee.

Numerous amendments to clauses of the Bill were moved by the Opposition during the Committee stage, but with minor exceptions, without result.

AMENDED PRESS CODE OF CONDUCT

A summary was given on page 67 of last year's *Survey* of the Press Code of Conduct issued by the Newspaper Press Union in

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[2] Assembly, 12 August, Hansard 2 cols. 465—88.

[3] Cols. 488—507.

[4] Cols. 567—75.

[5] Cols. 774—96.

1962, following threats by the then Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, that legislation would be introduced to curb the Press.

As reported last year [1], these threats were renewed by Mr. Vorster, who announced in September 1973 that he intended introducing legislation containing a clause that would prevent a newspaper from appearing on the streets for one or more days if it published material which promoted racial incitement. He was giving the English language Press until January to put its house in order, he said.

The Newspaper Press Union consists of owners and/or managers of newspapers. It is reported [2] that on 23 July its executive decided to amend its Press Code.

The previous Code had contained a clause reading, "While the Press retains its traditional right of criticism, comment should take cognisance of the complex racial problems of S.A., the general good and the safety of the country and its peoples". This clause had caused disquiet among certain editors, journalists, and others, who felt that it might tend to curb Press freedom. Some newspaper proprietors refused to accept the Code, or did so under protest.

The amended Code contained a further clause reading, "Insofar as both news and comment are concerned, it is further accepted that the standards applying to South African publications exact from them due care and responsibility concerning matters which can have the effect of stirring up feelings of hostility between different racial, ethnic, or religious or cultural groups in S.A., or which can affect the safety and defence of the country and its peoples."

In terms of the previous Code, a Board of Reference was provided for, composed of two managerial nominees under the chairmanship of a retired judge. Editors or journalists who were considered to have infringed the Code might be reprimanded by this Board, and such reprimand would be published in other papers. In terms of the amended Code, heavy fines, of up to R10 000, might be imposed by the Board.

The amended Code was submitted to the Prime Minister for his information. It caused great resentment among certain newspaper editors, who complained that they had not been consulted as a body. It was reported on 12 August [3] that nine major newspapers had already rejected the Code. Twelve had indicated qualified support. In an article published on 11 August Mr. Joel Mervis, editor of the *Sunday Times*, said that race policies and race relations were the most crucial, decisive factors in determining the future of S.A. and were continually under discussion. There was no objective yardstick in the Code as to what matters might have the effect of stirring up feelings of racial hostility. Even a report on the poverty of Black communities might conceivably do so. It would be impossible, Mr. Mervis contended, for a journalist to comply with the Code while at the same time keeping the public fully informed about crucial issues of current debate.

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[1] Page 69

[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 August

[3] *Ibid.* 12 August

Most of the members of the S.A. Society of Journalists (employed on English language newspapers) were indignant about the terms of the Code. The Society contended that the Newspaper Press Union had earlier agreed to consult it if changes were contemplated to the constitution, code of ethics, and procedures of the S.A. Press Council. The President of the Press Union stated [4] that, on checking the files, he could confirm that such an agreement had been reached. He sent a letter of apology.

When replying to the Second Reading of the Publications Bill in the Senate on 18 September [5], the Minister of the Interior said that he did not intend including the Press in the ambit of this legislation. The Government was studying the revised Press Code. In order to avoid the need for any action by the Government, and in the interests of Press freedom, he appealed to the Press to act responsibly.

DRAFT OFFICIAL SECRETS AMENDMENT BILL

It was reported on 18 October that the Minister of Justice had asked the Newspaper Press Union to comment on a draft Bill to amend the Official Secrets Act, providing for a ban on Press reporting of police activity in any "circumscribed" area without the Minister's consent. A "circumscribed" area was defined as any area declared as such by the Minister. The Minister stated, however, that he was hoping, without the need for any legislation, to reach agreement on the reporting of police matters relating to security on the country's borders and in Rhodesia.[6]

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[4] Ibid. 29 August; Star, 24 September

[5] Senate Hansard 4 col. 1490

[6] Various newspapers of 18 and 19 October

JUSTICE

CONTRAVENTIONS OF THE LAW

According to the annual reports of the Commissioner of the S.A. Police for the years ended 30 June 1972 and 30 June 1973,[1] 3 119 091 contraventions of S.A. criminal law, statutes, provincial ordinances, and municipal by-laws were reported to the police during 1971–2, and 3 089 337 the following year.

The numbers of cases sent for trial were:

	1971-2	*1972-3*
Offences	698 699	463 138
Law infringements	1 934 659	2 128 959
	2 633 358	2 592 097

Details relating to offences under the security laws are given later in this chapter, while those relating to the so-called pass laws are contained in a subsequent chapter.

A commission of inquiry, headed by Mr. Justice Viljoen, has been appointed to investigate the S.A. penal system. Its terms of reference excluded the question of capital punishment.

CRIMINAL STATISTICS

In his annual report for the year ended 30 June 1973,[2] the Commissioner of Prisons stated that 364 200 sentenced prisoners were admitted to jail during the year. A summary of the sentences imposed is:

Sentences	*Whites*	*Coloured*	*Asians*	*Africans*	*Totals*
Death penalty	—	26	—	53	79
Life imprisonment	—	2	—	13	15
Indeterminate sentence	91	183	3	805	1 082
Prevention of crime (5—8 years)	122	403	9	1 213	1 747
Corrective training (2—4 years)	202	882	12	2 133	3 229
2 years and over	410	2 085	40	7 090	9 625
6 months up to 2 years	881	3 954	94	17 476	22 405
4 months up to 6 months	965	5 447	125	25 533	32 070
1 month up to 4 months	1 710	12 431	371	94 026	108 538
Up to and including 1 month	3 301	26 783	844	153 655	184 583
Periodical imprisonment	240	71	20	90	421
Corporal punishment only (Cane)	7	39	—	360	406
	7 929	52 306	1 518	302 447	364 200

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[1] R.P. 23/1973 page 4 and R.P. 50/1974 page 16.

[2] R.P. 91/1973, pages 6–11.

Of the total number of sentenced prisoners of all races, 42 per cent were Africans jailed for periods up to and including one month.[3]

On 30 June 1973 there were 75 306 sentenced and 18 939 unsentenced prisoners in custody. The classifications of the sentenced persons were:

	Percentage
Minimum security (Group A)	35,1
Medium security (Group B)	49,5
Maximum security (Groups C and D)	9,9
Not yet classified	5,5

Some subsequent figures were given by the Minister of Prisons in the Senate on 23 August [4], indicating the average daily prison population, including unsentenced prisoners, during the year ended 30 June 1974:

	M	*F*
Whites	3 890	84
Coloured	17 611	1 021
Asians	534	19
Africans	70 437	5 255
	92 472	6 379

DEATH SENTENCES

The Commission of Prisons said in his report that on 30 June 1972, 51 persons who had been sentenced to death were in custody. During the following twelve months another 79 were admitted, making a total of 130. The offences for which they had been sentenced were:

	White on White	*Black on White*	*Black on Black*	*Totals*
Murder	1	29	80	110
Murder and robbery	1	3	4	8
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	—	2	2	4
Rape	—	3	1	4
Housebreaking with aggravating circumstances	—	4	—	4
	2	41	87	130

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[3] Calculation by the writer.

[4] Senate Hansard 2 col. 694.

The outcome of these cases was:

Executed	[illegible]
Sentence commuted	[illegible]
Successful appeal	[illegible]
Re-trial ordered	1
In custody 30 June 1973	[illegible]

PRISONERS HIRED OUT AS FARM LABOURERS

The Minister of Prisons said in the Assembly on [illegible] September[5] that during 1973, 331 inspections were carried out into the housing, feeding, and working conditions of prisoners hired out as farm labourers. On seven farms the conditions were found to be unsatisfactory. The supply of parolees was stopped permanently in three of these cases, and in the other four was stopped until conditions had been improved.

PRISON EDUCATION

The Commissioner reported that during the year ended 30 June 1973, 293 prisoners sat for written examinations, of whom 31 obtained certificates ranging from Standard VI to Senior Certificate, from N.T.C. I to V, and including an advanced nursing certificate and a diploma in marketing research. Besides this, 394 took trade tests, 245 of them passing.

During the year, 351 prisoners spread over 24 prisons completed the literacy course of the Bureau of Literacy and Literature, bringing the grand total to 2 699.

ASSAULTS ON PRISONERS

In the Rand Supreme Court on 7 October five prison warders were found guilty of assault on two prisoners with intent to do grievous bodily harm. The trial followed the death of one of the prisoners, Mr. Lucas Khoaripe, and serious injuries to another. In his summing up the judge, Mr. Justice Hiemstra, said that one of the warders had accused Mr. Khoaripe of having stolen some money. In an endeavour to extract a confession, warders had him dumped in a bath of water, his head being pushed under several times. Lieutenant S. L. Potgieter was present. Next day Mr. Khoaripe and a fellow-prisoner were assaulted in what the judge termed a barbaric, cruel, and inhuman way, and Mr. Khoaripe died as a result. After this event, Lieutenant Potgieter had been promoted to the rank of captain. The judge said, "This exposes a cynicism on the part of the prison authorities which I cannot condemn strongly enough".

Capt. Potgieter had been given an indemnity against prosecution provided that he gave satisfactory evidence. He admitted in court that he had participated in discussions to fabricate a story that would keep secret the cause of Mr. Khoaripe's death.

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[5] Hansard 7 col. 506

The judge described the event as an indelible disgrace that had made the system of discipline at the prison fall under suspicion. No one was so naïve, he said, as to believe that these assaults were an isolated instance. Had the prisoner not died, nothing would have been disclosed outside the prison walls. Three of the warders were jailed for 18 months each, the others being given suspended sentences.[6]

The Minister of Justice sent for the full court record. The three warders sentenced to imprisonment were summarily dismissed from the Prisons service, and the two others were suspended and then resigned. Captain Potgieter and two other officials were put on compulsory leave.

Replying to questions in the Assembly on 15 October,[1] the Minister of Justice said that at the time when Captain Potgieter was promoted, no adverse information about him had been known.

A letter had been sent to all commanding officers, he stated, strongly condemning assaults and unworthy behaviour in general, and drawing attention to standing orders and previous circulars on these subjects. All these officers were required to acknowledge in writing that they were acquainted with the contents of the orders.

The Minister said that 3 prison warders had been killed and 35 seriously injured by prisoners between 1 July 1971 and 30 June 1973. During the same period 36 prisoners had been killed and 133 seriously injured by fellow-prisoners, and 21 killed and 36 seriously injured by warders, mostly during attempted escapes.

The chief liaison officer for the Department of Prisons told the Press[2] that all allegations of assault were investigated. Between 1 January and 30 September 1974 there had been 230 departmental investigations into allegations of assault by warders. Of these, 117 were deemed unfounded, 11 cases were referred to the police, and the rest had been or were being dealt with by the department. Forty people had thus far been found guilty and 15 acquitted.

Members of the Opposition called for a judicial inquiry into prison conditions, but the Minister said that such an inquiry would take at least six years to complete, during which time the whole question of jails would be *sub judice*.[3]

CRIME IN SOWETO, JOHANNESBURG

Crime in Soweto, Johannesburg, has attracted public attention during the year under review. In the Assembly on 19

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[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, and *Star*, 8 October.

[1] Hansard 11 cols. 733, 737.

[2] *Sunday Times*, 20 October.

[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 October.

February [1], the Minister of Statistics gave some examples of the number of prosecutions in the Soweto Police Division during the six months ended 30 June 1973:

Murder	255
Common assault	1 148
Assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm	2 504
Theft, including burglaries and robberies	1 944
Rape and attempted rape	366

The Minister of Police replied to a series of questions on 20 September [2]. There were nine police stations in Soweto, he said, at which 1 068 African and 157 White policemen were stationed. He gave details of some of the solved and unsolved crimes that had taken place in Soweto over a twelve-year period. Some extracts are:

	1962		*1973*	
	Solved	*Unsolved*	*Solved*	*Unsolved*
Assaults	3 816	651	7 573	1 538
Rapes	368	78	767	371
Murders	308	115	644	308
Thefts	1 361	905	1 964	1 892

Certain Africans at Soweto have formed a "makgotla" movement, reported [3] to have some 1 600 paid-up members, which operates makeshift courts at weekends. These courts deal with juvenile delinquency, minor crimes, and family disputes. In some areas "offenders", when caught, are handed over to the police; but some courts administer floggings with sjamboks when juveniles are judged to be guilty of an offence. The police have issued warnings that it is illegal for unofficial courts to administer corporal punishment. The Minister of Justice said in the Assembly on 24 September [4] that eleven people had been prosecuted and convicted on charges relating to floggings at Soweto.

CONDUCT OF THE POLICE

In the Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for the year ending 31 March 1975,[1] provision was made for salaries for 19 498 White and 16 031 Black members of the Police Force.

According to the report of the Commissioner of the S.A. Police for the year ended 30 June 1973,[2] during that period one policeman was awarded the Police Cross for Bravery, three the Star for Distinguished Service, and 149 the Star for Merit.

It was announced in February that two members of the S.A. Police had been awarded the Star for Distinguished Service, and four the Star for Merit, for acts of valour performed while on duty on the country's borders. Eleven more policemen were awarded the Police Star during September and October for acts of bravery in the course of their duties in the Republic.[3]

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[1] Hansard 3 cols. 119—20.

[2] Hansard 7 cols. 532—3.

[3] *Star*, 17 May, *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 May, *Sunday Express*, 1 September.

[4] Hansard 8 col. 553.

[1] R.P. 2/1974 page 328.

[2] R.P. 50/1974 page 1.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 12 February,[4] the Minister of Police said that the following numbers of policemen had been killed or wounded during 1973 in the execution of their duties (other than in traffic accidents):

	White	*Coloured*	*Indian*	*African*
On the borders of the Republic				
Killed	4	—	—	5
Wounded	4	—	—	5
Elsewhere in the Republic or S.W.A.				
Killed	1	—	—	6
Wounded	8	1	1	4

The Minister was also questioned about the number of people who had been shot and killed or wounded by policemen in the execution of police duties, and gave the following figures.[5]

	1973		*First six months of 1974*	
	Adults	*Juveniles*	*Adults*	*Juveniles*
Persons shot at and killed				
Whites	2	—	—	—
Coloured	14	2	7	—
Asians	1	—	1	—
Africans	96	2	42	—
Persons shot at and wounded				
Whites	8	2	4	—
Coloured	52	8	27	6
Asians	4	—	—	1
Africans	266	12	150	7

Answering a further question,[6] the Minister said that of the 108 actions for damages for alleged assault by members of the Police Force brought during 1972 and still pending as at 22 May 1973, three actions succeeded and twenty were settled out of court, amounts of R1 200 and R13 910 respectively being paid. During 1973, 137 similar actions were brought, of which none succeeded and five were settled out of court, R1 325 being paid. The remaining actions were pending at the end of the year.

Subsequently, on 11 October[7], the Minister revealed that, during 1973, 65 White and 95 Black policemen were convicted for common assault, 4 White and 14 Black for assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, and 3 White and 2 Black for culpable homicide. Of these men, 5 White and 10 Black had previous convictions for common assault.

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[3] *Star*, 28 February, *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 September.
[4] Hansard 2 col. 75.
[5] 26 February, Hansard 4 col. 170; 6 September, Hansard 5 col. 305.
[6] 12 February, Hansard 2 col. 74.
[7] Assembly, Hansard 10 col. 726.

Of those with previous convictions, 2 Whites and 3 Blacks were discharged from the Force. Of those without previous convictions, 4 Whites and 4 Blacks were discharged after their convictions for common assault, and 1 White and 3 Blacks after convictions for assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

DENTENTION AND TRIALS UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS

Republic of S.A.

The Minister of Police said in the Assembly on 12 February that he did not consider it to be in the public interest to disclose information about detentions under the Terrorism Act during 1973. Nobody died in detention, he added. In reply to a further question the Minister said on 27 September that no-one had been arrested or held under this Act during the first six months of 1974.[1]

On 23 August [2] the Minister of Justice gave the following statistics relating to convictions under the security laws:

	Year 1 July 1972–30 June 1973			
	Whites	*Coloured*	*Asians*	*Africans*
Section 21 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1962 (sabotage)	—	2	—	—
Terrorism Act and Suppression of Communism Act	3	1	1	4
Acts relating to Unlawful Organizations, Gatherings and Demonstrations, and Riotous Assemblies	13	2	—	2

	Six months July–Dec. 1973			
	Whites	*Coloured*	*Asians*	*Africans*
Section 21 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1962 (Sabotage)	—	—	—	—
Terrorism Act and Suppression of Communism Act	4	—	5	8
Acts relating to Unlawful Organizations, Gatherings and Demonstrations, and Riotous Assemblies	—	—	—	9

The numbers of persons serving sentences under security laws at the end of 1973 were:

	Whites	*Coloured*	*Asians*	*Africans*
Sabotage	7	7	9	239
Terrorism	2	3	4	63
Unlawful Organizations	—	—	—	10

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[1] Hansard 2 cols. 75—6, Hansard 8 col. 581

[2] Assembly Hansard 3 cols. 181—2

Transkei

Questioned on the same day,[3] the Minister of Police said that 30 Africans were detained during 1973 under the Transkei Emergency Proclamation 400 of 1960. One man was released after 35 days, without having been charged. The rest were detained for periods ranging from 17 to 71 days before being charged. Of these, four were acquitted, and 29 were awaiting trial on charges of public violence. There were three in detention at the time that the Minister spoke, all having been arrested during that month.

Msinga district

The provision for detention for interrogation in the Msinga district of KwaZulu was described on page 78 of last year's *Survey*. On 16 August the Minister of Police said[4] that 29 persons had been detained since the proclamation came into effect during May 1973, on the grounds that there was reason to believe that they were withholding information about offences involving violence or the theft of firearms or stock. Six of these persons were released after furnishing the required information, and a further five because there was insufficient evidence against them. The rest were released but immediately rearrested and charged, fifteen with murder, one with attempted murder and arson, one with theft, and one with having attended an armed gathering. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi stated on 8 May[5] that about R100 000 had been collected in communal fines and would be ploughed back for the development of the area.

Trial of Mr. Matsau

The arrest in Vereeniging of Mr. Nkutsoeu Matsau was mentioned on page 82 of the 1973 *Survey*. After several appearances in court he was on 26 April[6] found guilty of two acts of participation in terrorist activities with the intention of endangering the maintenance of law and order. He did this through the publication or handing out of a poem and a newsletter which were likely to incite feelings of inter-racial hostility. Mr. Matsau was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

Trial of Mr. Hamilton

On 30 May, students of the (Coloured) Coronationville High School, Johannesburg, demonstrated against the celebration of Republic Day. Three of the students were arrested and detained incommunicado under a section of the General Law Amendment Act of 1966 that provides for the detention of persons suspected of terrorism. Two of them were then released, but an 18-year old youth, Mr. Clarence Hamilton, was charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. He was found guilty on two charges, relating to the publication of a pamphlet for distribution to students and teachers which was found to be intended as a call for violence, and to the possession of formulas for making explosives and petrol bombs. Sentence was postponed, Mr. Hamilton being allowed bail in the meanwhile; but as he failed to appear in court for sentence a warrant was issued for his arrest.

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[3] Col. 191.
[4] Assembly Hansard 2 cols. 104–5.
[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 May.
[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 April.

Detention and trials of persons arrested following the holding of a prohibited gathering

It was mentioned on page 66 that on 24 September the Minister of Justice prohibited any meetings to be held anywhere in the country during the period up to 20 October at the instigation of or on behalf of the S.A. Students' Organization (Saso) or the Black People's Convention (BPC). Despite this ban, meetings were held the next day at Curries Fountain, Durban, and at the University of the North. Thereafter, the police arrested a number of people, reported to be members of Saso, the BPC, or the Black Allied Workers' Union.

Some of them were detained under the General Law Amendment Act of 1966, which authorizes the police to detain for interrogation, for periods of up to 14 days at a time, persons suspected of having committed offences under the security laws, or of possessing information relating to such offences. At the end of the 14 days it was reported that certain of those arrested were being held, instead, under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, 1967, which sets no time limit to the period of detention.

LEGAL AID

The establishment of the State scheme for legal aid was described on page 79 of the 1971 *Survey*. The Government contributed R307 000 to the expenses of the Legal Aid Board for the year ending 31 March 1975.[1] The Minister of Justice said in the Assembly on 11 October[2] that the total cost of the scheme in the year ended 31 March 1974 had been R427 983. Of this amount, R330 793 was paid to legal practitioners. The Board has offices in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and Durban, and representatives at Magistrate's Courts and the courts of Bantu Affairs Commissioners elsewhere.

The means test has been raised by about 30 per cent for Whites and 45 per cent for people of other racial groups. The level varies according to race, marital status, and the number of an applicant's dependants.

According to a report in the *Rand Daily Mail* on 22 August, the cases handled in the 1973-4 financial year were as follows:

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[1] R.P. 2/1974 page 324, Vote 44.
[2] Hansard 10 col. 706.

	No. of applications received	*No. of cases referred to attorneys*
Criminal cases		
Whites	237	170
Coloured and Asians	169	119
Africans	162	136
	568	425
Civil cases		
Whites	4 908	2 048
Coloured and Asians	4 598	2 087
Africans	526	308
	10 032	4 443

Of the remaining cases, 2 748 were referred to government and other agencies, and 2 984 were refused.

The voluntary Legal Aid Bureau continues to operate in Johannesburg. It is a registered welfare organization, financed by a municipal grant and voluntary contributions. During 1973 the staff of this Bureau gave 12 272 interviews. They agreed to handle 1 141 new matters (935 African, 174 Coloured, and 32 White), and opened files assembling information on 5 863 cases (4 480 African, 1 250 Coloured, 133 White). Criminal representation was provided in 93 cases: 60 of the persons concerned were found not guilty and 22 guilty, the remaining 11 charges being withdrawn. There were 253 attorneys and 111 counsel who gave their services free of charge in other criminal and civil matters.

PREVENTION OF CRIME

NICRO (the National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders) is now running small hostels in Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, and Johannesburg as "halfway houses" between jail and total freedom for selected young men who have no families to help them.

An institute for studying the causes and prevention of crime is to be established by the University of South Africa.

"LIBERATION MOVEMENTS"

N.B. The term "liberation movements" is put in inverted commas in this chapter heading because, although it is in common usage abroad, this is not the case in South Africa, especially among Whites. In previous issues of this *Survey* the word "guerrillas" has been used as a compromise between "liberation movements" or "freedom fighters", on the one hand, and "terrorists" on the other. But Frelimo and the PAIGC are no longer guerrillas nor fighters. And spokesmen for these movements would certainly deny that they aspire to govern by terror-inspiring methods.

AID FROM ABROAD TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

It was announced in February [1] that the World Council of Churches was to distribute about R300 000 from its "special fund to combat racism" among 29 organizations in various continents, of which R67 000 would go to the PAIGC in Guinea, and R149 000 to liberation movements in Southern Africa, to be used for humanitarian purposes. Frelimo would receive R40 000 of this amount.

Prior to these grants, the special fund had disbursed some R402 000, of which more than 60 per cent went to the movements in Southern Africa.

Norway, Sweden, Tanzania, Finland, the Netherlands, and other countries have continued to give considerable financial and other help. In its Bulletin No. 5 of 1974, the Africa Institute listed prominent supporters of the movements, including 2 international organizations, 7 churches or church movements, more than 20 governments, ten or more large private organizations, and various private individuals. Conservative estimates, it was stated, would give a figure in excess of R23-million that had been channelled to liberation movements in Southern Africa from Western sources. Pledges by members of the OAU totalled R14,5-million (but numbers of the pledges were not honoured regularly or in full). There had been a multi-million outlay by the Iron Curtain countries, in armaments, vehicles, the provision of military training, and other ways.

THE CAPRIVI STRIP

Developments in the Caprivi Strip are described in the chapter on South West Africa.

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[1] *Star*, 21 February.

RHODESIA[1]

Attacks on White civilians

The new tactics adopted by Zanu and Zapu [2] towards the end of 1972, and the action that followed, were described on pages 86 *et seq* of last year's *Survey*. As recounted there, guerrillas attacked a number of White-owned farms during 1973. The protective measures then taken bore fruit, for few such attacks were made in 1974. A farmer and his wife were killed in February in the north-eastern Centenary area when they drove into an ambush while returning home at night. During May, Zanu fighters set fire to a farmhouse in this area, the owner of which was away at the time. A farmer died when his Patu group [3] was ambushed and shots were exchanged. A White animal health inspector and a road engineer were shot dead when they encountered groups of guerrillas, and another engineer was killed when his car detonated a landmine. According to Press reports, about 20 White civilians have died at the hands of guerrillas or in landmine blasts since December 1972.

An African threw a stick-grenade into a night club in Salisbury during July, injuring several people.

Mr. Gerald Hawkesworth, who was kidnapped by Zanu in January 1973, was released in Dar-es-Salaam towards the end of that year.

Attacks on Africans

There have been a number of further attacks on African kraals, especially on the Madziwa and Chiweshe tribal trust lands between Salisbury and the Centenary area. Heads of kraals and tribesmen who refused to assist guerrillas or who were suspected of being informers have been murdered, injured, or beaten, and their women sometimes raped. Youths have been abducted or pressed into joining Zanu. Kraals have been burned and cattle stolen.

Members of the staff of isolated schools or clinics, or of road maintenance gangs, have been attacked, too, and further Africans have been killed in landmine explosions. It was estimated by the Press at the end of September that at least 130 African civilians had been killed since the new offensive started at the end of 1972, while many more have been injured.

White farmers have been encouraged to fence in the accommodation provided for African employees, providing guards, floodlights, and sentry-boxes. Security forces have ambushed routes used by guerrillas, and have imposed curfews on people living in the areas concerned. Warnings have been issued that Africans found wandering about in these districts after dark will be presumed to be guerrillas. At least seven men have been killed accidentally when they ignored the curfew and walked into ambushes.

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[1] The account that follows has been compiled from more than a hundred Press and other reports, thus individual references are not given.

[2] Zimbabwe African National Union and Zimbabwe African People's Union.

[3] Anti-guerrilla groups formed by farmers for mutual protection.

Official provision has been made for innocent victims of attacks to claim compensation from the Government for incapacitation, medical expenses, loss of earnings, damage to property, etc. It was announced in June that about R320 000 had been paid during the past sixteen months.

Fortified villages

The Rhodesian Government announced in December 1973 that more than 8 000 African tribesmen from the north-eastern border with Mozambique had been moved further south into fortified villages, each accommodating 1 500 to 2 000 people. They were not allowed to take their livestock, which were sold on their behalf. Schools and clinics were being provided in the new villages. This action was taken to protect the tribesmen from attack, and also to make it impossible for them to assist guerrillas.

Security forces are reported to have destroyed two large kraals on tribal trust lands near the Centenary area during February and April, respectively, as punishment to the tribesmen for allowing guerrilla groups to use these kraals as bases for operations, from which murders were committed. The cattle owned by these people were sold. Those of the residents who were not implicated in the murders were resettled in villages further to the south.

More radical action was taken later in the year. During July the entire population of the Chiweshe trust land, numbering about 50 000, was moved by the authorities from about 187 kraals into 21 protected villages. It was reported that the people would be able to return to their lands during the daytime to cultivate them and tend their cattle. Similarly, in September, roughly 16 500 tribesmen from 142 kraals in the neighbouring Madziwa tribal trust area were resettled into ten security villages.

Rewards offered for assisting the authorities

The Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, announced in May that farmers in the war zone, mainly in the north-east of the country, would receive financial help for the provision of protective measures on their properties.

Thousands of leaflets and posters were distributed among Africans in these areas, offering cash rewards of varying amounts for information leading to the death or capture of guerrilla leaders, the seizure of weapons, or the recovery of mines. Information volunteered, and sums of money paid, would be treated entirely confidentially, it was stated.

Casualties in action

According to Press reports, by the beginning of 1974, 27 members of the Rhodesian security forces (including four members of the South African Police) had been killed in action. By 8 October, the total had risen to 55, including 14 S.A. policemen. Of the South Africans, four were shot in an ambush near the Victoria Falls during March. A fifth, Sergeant J. A. Kühn, was missing in this action.

Fatal casualties among Zanu and Zapu fighters were stated to have totalled 203 early in 1974, and at least 425 by mid-October.

Trials of men who were captured

The total number of guerrillas who have been captured in Rhodesia has not been disclosed; but from the beginning of 1974 to the end of September at least 31 trials were reported. Seventeen of the men convicted were sentenced to death, the rest receiving sentences ranging from five years for a man who failed to report the presence of terrorists to thirty years for men who were found guilty of sabotage or being in possession of arms of war.

The sentences of four juveniles who had been sentenced to death were commuted to life imprisonment. Eight men were executed during the first eight months of 1974.

Party politics in Rhodesia

In terms of the 1969 Constitution there are 50 seats in the Rhodesian Parliament that are contested by White voters, 8 contested by Africans who qualify for the vote, and 8 seats filled by Africans who are chosen by tribal electoral colleges, giving a total of 66. Africans will, in time, gain increased representation as more of them qualify for the franchise.

Africans have, for long, demanded far greater representation. In an endeavour to reach a settlement, during May Mr. Ian Smith had discussions with Bishop Abel Muzorewa, President of the African National Council. Mr. Smith is reported to have offered to give Africans an additional 6 seats immediately, making a total of 22 in an enlarged Parliament of 72 members. But the Central Committee of the ANC rejected this proposal, which would not have given Africans as many as the one-third of the total number of votes that is needed to block changes to the entrenched clauses of the Constitution.

The two main parties that contested the general election, held on 30 July, were the Rhodesian Front, led by Mr. Ian Smith, and the Rhodesian Party (said to consist of "progressive conservatives") led by Mr. Tim Gibbs. Mr. Smith's party won all of the 50 White seats. The ANC as such had decided not to contest any election held under the existing constitution, but seven of the eight elected African seats went to "unofficial" ANC candidates or supporters, the eighth being won by a member of the Centre Party.

There were reports that Mr. Smith intended convening a further constitutional conference with African leaders, but the ANC national executive announced that it would participate in such a conference only if the British Government were represented, and if African leaders who were in detention were allowed to be present: these included Mr. Joshua Nkomo of Zapu and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole of Zanu, who had been detained for a number of years.

S.A. Police serving on the border

The U.N. Security Council debate on S.A., and President Kaunda's call on the Republic to withdraw its police from Rhodesia, are described in the chapter on Foreign Affairs. The Minister of Police announced on 29 October that in future only policemen volunteering for such duty would be sent to the border. This would automatically bring about a reduction over a period in the number of policemen doing border duty.

In a speech made in Nigel on 5 November, the Prime Minister said that the S.A. Police would remain in Rhodesia for as long as the terrorist threat to S.A. remained. They were there to protect S.A.'s interests, and not those of anyone else.

POLITICAL EVENTS IN PORTUGAL[1]

The old regime in Portugal

Between 1926 and 1974 the government of Portugal was an authoritarian one, led first by Dr. Antonio Salazar as Prime Minister and, since 1968, by Professor Marcello Caetano. There were no official political parties. In practice, people who stood for election to the National Assembly were candidates sponsored by an organization called National Popular Action, composed of people belonging to the regime. As the time for elections approached, other names might be suggested, but opposition was not organized because there was little freedom of expression. Newspapers were censored. Candidates other than those supported by National Popular Action generally withdrew, often because of lack of faith that elections would not be rigged. Opponents of the regime who were too outspoken might be exiled. There was widespread fear of arbitrary arrest and detention by the secret police, the DGS (Directorate General of Security), who were responsible only to the Prime Minister. (This force was still generally referred to by its previous name of Pide.) Trade unions were practically defunct.

Portugal and its overseas provinces were regarded as one entity. The provinces sent varying numbers of deputies to the National Assembly: of the 130 members of this body Angola and

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[1] This chapter, too, is based on a very wide variety of official statements, authoritative articles, and Press reports, making it impracticable to quote individual sources.

Mozambique sent seven each, Guinea-Bissau one, and Cape Verde two. However, this legislature was in session for only three months of each year. During the recess the president (Admiral Américo Tomás since 1958) had wide power to legislate by decree. He appointed the Prime Minister and, on the latter's advice, the other Cabinet Ministers. Legislative Assemblies in the provinces had limited powers, with no authority to legislate on any matter that might affect the sovereignty of the central government in Lisbon. National Popular Action dominated elections in the provinces as well as in metropolitan Portugal.

Portugal had been involved in wars against insurgent guerrilla forces in her overseas provinces in Africa since 1961, when there was an uprising in Angola. Violence erupted in Portuguese Guinea in 1963, and in Mozambique the following year. By the end of the 1960's Portugal was spending almost half of her annual budget on the conduct of wars against various rebel forces in these three territories. Taxation had been greatly increased. (A considerable proportion of the metropolitan budget, however, was derived from the overseas territories themselves.)

Abortive revolt in Lisbon

A book was published early in March entitled *Portugal and the Future*, written by General Antonio de Spinola, the Deputy Chief of the Portuguese Armed Forces. It was reported that within three weeks some 50 000 copies had been sold. The author expressed the view that in any war of the type in progress in the Portuguese provinces in Africa an exclusively military victory was not feasible. The rôle of the armed forces, he suggested, should be to create and preserve for the necessary time (not a very long period) the conditions of security that would make social and political solutions possible, with a view to ending the conflict. Portugal, he contended, was unable to sustain the wars either economically or in human terms. General De Spinola rejected any idea of pulling out of Africa, since this would mean abandoning the loyal Portuguese there. The choice, he said, was, thus, between a continued centralized form of government, or a decentralized federal system. He opted for the latter, giving the overseas provinces wide powers to solve their own problems, but keeping defence, foreign affairs, and finance in the hands of a simplified central government in Lisbon.

Some days after the publication of this book General De Spinola was dismissed from his post, as was his immediate superior, General Francisco da Costa Gomes, who had expressed agreement with his views.

On 17 March about 200 officers at an army garrison to the north of Lisbon attempted a march on the capital to demonstrate their support for General De Spinola. They were turned back by troops and police who threatened to open fire, and retreated to their garrison.

Take-over of government by a military junta

It was announced on 25 April that at dawn that day members of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) led by dissident young officers had seized control of Lisbon, occupying government buildings. There were no reports of armed resistance. Periodic radio bulletins were issued, during the course of which it was stated that after thirteen years of fighting in Africa the political system had still been unable to define a policy that would lead to peace between Portuguese people of all races and creeds. It was announced that a seven-man military junta, the "Junta of National Salvation", would be appointed by the MFA to take over the control of the country until free elections could he held, if possible within a year.

General De Spinola and General Da Costa Gomes were invited to join the Junta and they became its leader and deputy leader, respectively. Some of the members were men who had been exiled by the Caetano Government and who now returned. Most of them had served in the African wars.

Dr. Caetano, the President (Admiral Tomás), and Cabinet members presented their resignations to General De Spinola, and most of them were exiled.

There was public rejoicing in Portugal. The censorship of newspapers was lifted. All political prisoners were released: instead, many members of the DGS were arrested, this body being disbanded.

Appointment of a provisional government

During May the Junta appointed a provisional government, with General De Spinola as President and General Da Costa Gomes as his deputy. There was a Cabinet of fifteen, prominent members being Professor A. da Palma Carlos (Prime Minister), Dr. Mario Soares (Foreign Minister), and Dr. Antonio de Almeida Santos (Minister of Inter-Territorial Co-Ordination). This government was a centre-left coalition one, with members drawn from the Democratic, Socialist, and Communist groups. It would work out a franchise system in preparation for elections to be held before the end of March 1975. At his formal installation as President, General De Spinola said that he and his colleagues wanted peace overseas, and wanted the future of the overseas territories to be decided by all those who declared these to be their homes.

A Council of State was also appointed, consisting of seven members of the Junta, seven of the MFA, and seven citizens appointed by the President. Its functions were to approve the actions of the provisional government and the president, and to ensure constitutional progress.

This system, with the division of control between various bodies and interests, led to confusion. The Prime Minister resigned in July, on the ground that he had insufficient power to govern effectively. Four of the more conservative Cabinet Ministers resigned too. Members of the Cabinet were reported to have disagreed on economic policy and on the pace at which the overseas territories should be de-colonised. General De Spinola then dissolved the entire Cabinet.

The Junta appointed Brigadier Vasco Goncalves as Prime Minister. A new government was appointed consisting, altogether, of seven military officers and ten civilians, including the leaders of the socialist and communist groups. The previous Foreign Minister and the Minister of Inter-Territorial Co-Ordination were re-appointed to these offices.

In a TV broadcast President Spinola said, "The moment has arrived for the president of the Republic to reiterate solemnly the recognition of the right of the people of the Portuguese overseas territories to self-determination, including immediate recognition of their rights to independence."

During September, General De Spinola called upon what he termed the "silent majority" of conservatives to wake up and "defend the country against the danger of totalitariansim". A mass rally was planned in response. However, General De Spinola then gave way to left-wing pressure and had the rally cancelled. The Prime Minister made a broadcast speech alleging that forces of reaction had intended attacking the government. But the government was determined to carry out the programme of the Armed Forces Movement. Civil war must at all costs be avoided.

Next day, General De Spinola resigned. General Da Costa Gomes was appointed president in his stead. A number of the conservatives were arrested, and three of them on the Junta were replaced by MFA supporters.

EVENTS IN MOZAMBIQUE

Fighting prior to the coup on 25 April

Frelimo (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) was increasingly active in the field during the early part of 1974. From headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam its president, Mr. Samora Machel, directed trained fighters operating in Mozambique, either in small mobile bands or, if required, in larger forces. There were reported to have been more than 9 000 within the territory, with reserves located in Tanzania. They used sophisticated modern weapons, obtained mainly from Russia or China.

Portugal is stated to have had between 60 000 and 70 000 troops in Mozambique early in 1974, about two-thirds of these being local Africans and a considerable proportion of the rest conscripts from the metropolitan country.

According to various reports from official sources, during 1973 Frelimo killed 258 African civilians and injured 554. More than two-thirds of the casualties were caused by landmines laid on paths near African villages. Reliable accounts of the Frelimo casualties are not available.

Early in 1974 there were a number of attacks on the railway line running from Beira north-west to Tete (near the Cabora Bassa Dam), with a branch line to Malawi. In January a goods train returning from Tete was derailed by a landmine, and a pumping station blown up. During the following month six rail tankers of one train were derailed, and two engines and twelve trucks of another, killing one man and injuring seven. Guerrillas machine-gunned two trains: eight people were killed and eleven wounded in these attacks. Three people died and two were seriously injured in ambushes near Inhaminga, a small town on the railway line, about 180 km to the north of Beira.

There was serious disquiet among the residents of Inhaminga. On 26 February the wives of railway workers there formed a human barrier across the line, consenting to move only when a senior official assured them that action would be taken to make conditions safer. For some days both passenger and goods traffic was suspended. Trains were armour-plated. Bridges were guarded, and armed troops travelled on the trains. It was reported that goods piled up at Beira, seriously inconveniencing Malawi.

In March troops detected and neutralized a mine that had been placed on the line; but two weeks later a mixed passenger-goods train was raked with machine-gun fire about 4 km south of Inhaminga, in bush country. An African was killed and six other passengers wounded.

At the end of 1973 Frelimo penetrated for the first time as far south as the railway line and road that run close to one another linking Beira with Rhodesia. On New Year's Eve the engine and five coaches of a passenger train were derailed by a landmine 36 km from the Rhodesian border, near Vila de Manica. A repair train going to the rescue was attacked with automatic fire, killing a Portuguese army officer. Security forces tracked the guerrillas, killing one and wounding two.

During January a passenger-goods train set off a mine about half-way between Beira and Umtali. The train was not derailed, but one African was reported killed. Shortly afterwards a diesel railcar was blasted off the tracks, killing two crewmen and seriously injuring the third. Night passenger services on this line were cancelled early in February, the schedule being rearranged to allow for travel during daylight hours when troops could watch out for trouble. But a fortnight later a section of the line was blown up 18 km from the Rhodesian border, causing the derailment of a goods train.

Another new development in 1974 was a series of attacks on the farms of Whites. The first took place on 16 January, at a farm near the Rhodesian road, close to the border. The farmer and one son, apparently not at the farmhouse at the time, managed to escape, but the farmer's wife was bayoneted to death and another son wounded. It was reported that five men, suspected of having been responsible for the attack, were captured by security forces. Nevertheless, the occurrence caused considerable unease. Several farmers sent their families to live in towns. Troops were sent to help guard the farms, and arms were issued to farmers. There was a sharp decrease in the civilian traffic along the main road. Residents of Beira staged demonstrations demanding tighter security measures.

Another farm in the same area was attacked during March. A farm-worker was wounded. The vehicle taking him to hospital struck a landmine, resulting in the death of one man and injuries to a second. Later that month there was an attack on a farm a little further to the east. As it happened, the farmer and his family were away, spending the night in a town nearby for security reasons.

In April, guerrillas penetrated still further south, to the dense bush area along a section of the main road from Beira to Lourenço Marques. The area is sparsely populated. On 23 April shots were fired at lorries travelling to Lourenço Marques, three drivers being killed.

Repercussions in Mozambique of the Portuguese coup

Two days after the take-over by the Junta in Portugal it was announced that the Governors-General and district governors in Mozambique and the other Portuguese provinces in Africa had been dismissed and, as an interim measure, replaced by army officers. The Legislative Assemblies were prorogued.

The armed forces in Mozambique declared, in a military communique, that they were totally and unconditionally at the service of the Junta of National Salvation.

Large numbers of political prisoners, estimated at more than a thousand, were released from various prisons. Many leading members of the former DGS were arrested and imprisoned, instead.

There was a rapid proliferation of political parties and groups, some of which dissolved equally rapidly. General Gomes is said to have remarked that the people were experiencing "sudden decompression". A few of the more significant of the new groups appeared to be as described below.

(a) The Democrats of Mozambique were a group of mainly academics working for social reform on liberal lines, White-led, but with intellectual Black members. Lawyers belonging to this group undertook an investigation into allegations by former prisoners of torture and brutality at the hands of the DGS. Unsuccessful attempts were made by unspecified right-wing groups on the lives of two of the leaders of the Democrats.

(b) GUMO (Group for the Unity of Mozambique) was a non-racial body, in practice Black-dominated. It stood for putting an end to the fighting, and achieving independence for Mozambique and peaceful co-existence on a non-racial basis. By July, GUMO had disbanded because the more left-wing of its leaders feared that its continued existence might undermine efforts by Frelimo to secure a political agreement with Lisbon. Other members allied themselves, instead, with what for a time was called a National Coalition Party, composed of various groups which opposed a transfer of political power to Frelimo without any general consultation or referendum.

(c) Frelimo supporters came out into the open, especially in Lourenço Marques, as this movement gained increasing military success and it became clear that Lisbon was prepared to negotiate with its leaders. At the time of writing it is not yet clear to what extent Frelimo has the allegiance of Africans against whom it fought for many years.

(d) The word FICO (Front for Independence and Western Continuity) meant "I stay" in Portuguese. Members were mainly right-wing White landowners, businessmen, and ex-soldiers. They acknowledged that multi-racialism, power-sharing with Blacks, and the recognition of Frelimo were essential, but considered that all the peoples of Mozambique should have a voice in deciding the future of the country. They favoured the continuance of strong links with South Africa.

(e) Two White organizations on the extreme right were AMA (the Armed Moçambican Action Group) and/or the "Dragons of Death". It was not clear, from public reports, whether or not it was these groups who were responsible for the attacks on Democrat leaders, for firing shots at the headquarters of a university students' association, for the explosion of small bombs at various points in Lourenço Marques and in Inhaminga, and for certain acts of sabotage that were initially attributed to Frelimo. These events took place in June and July.

Between May and September there was a continuing wave of labour strikes in Mozambique, perhaps the most serious for the country's economy being among dockworkers at the ports.

Initial consideration of the future of the African territories

Early in May the Portuguese deputy-leader, General Da Costa Gomes, visited Angola and Mozambique. According to various reports, he told Press conferences that, while immediate independence was impossible, the Junta invited all groups, including communists, socialists, and Frelimo, to come into the open in peace to begin legal political activity to determine the future of the territories. There would be freedom of choice, but the Junta hoped that the territories would decide on a future within the framework of a greater Portugal. Should insurgent groups reject the offer to enter into peaceful negotiations, General Gomes said, the army would have no choice but to fight back with, perhaps, increased intensity.

Speaking to senior army officers at Nampula in northern Mozambique on 12 May, General Gomes is reported to have said that some people had misinterpreted statements by the Junta as meaning that insurgent groups had to lay down their arms before the Portuguese authorities would negotiate with them. That was a wrong interpretation, he emphasised, for it could be deduced that the rebels had to accept the status of defeat before discussions could take place.

According to reports, General Gomes continued, "If they have used their weapons in the sincere conviction that it was the only way to defend the people of Mozambique against the unrealistic consequences of the previous regime's policies, then it is almost certain that we shall have peace—that, from being adversaries we shall come to regard them as partners in the task of the political development of a people which must have self-determination." However, if the rebels rejected the sincerity of Portugal's offer, he believed that the army and the Portuguese people would choose to continue fighting in order to safeguard Mozambique.

Whites of the right wing were perturbed by these statements, and also by certain events in the territory. A few days earlier, Africans in Lourenço Marques had taken over control of a very large political rally called by GUMO, and had expressed open support for Frelimo. On the day of General Gomes's speech in Nampula there had been clashes in Beira, when Whites retaliated after Blacks had overturned a car with White passengers in it.

General Gomes returned to Beira on the evening of his speech. The Governor's residence, where he was staying, was, according to reports, besieged by about two thousand angry Whites, who shouted anti-Frelimo and anti-GUMO slogans and demanded arms. General Gomes spoke to them through a loud-hailer. He warned extremists that the police and armed forces would act against trouble-makers of any group. He also warned White extremists in Mozambique and Angola that any move towards a unilateral declaration of independence in either territory had no hope of success.

Later in May the Minister of Inter-Territorial Co-Ordination, Dr. De Almeida Santos, visited Mozambique. He is reported to have said at a Press conference that a national referendum to decide the future of the territory would be held within a year, on the basis of one-man-one-vote.[1] (He added later that no timetable for actual constitutional changes had been offered.) Dr. Santos stated that a new interim government was to be appointed for Mozambique. He would like to see all ethnic groups represented; but ability would be the basis upon which the government would be chosen.

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[1] There were roughly 8 500 000 Blacks and between 220 000 and 250 000 Whites in Mozambique.

It was reported that considerable numbers of Whites began leaving Mozambique for metropolitan Portugal or Brazil.

During General Gomes's visit in May a spokesman for Frelimo said in Dar-es-Salaam that the war would end only when the military Junta understood the right of the people of Mozambique to independence. In a Radio Tanzania broadcast later that month the Frelimo president, Mr. Samora Machel, is reported to have said, "Independence for Mozambique is not negotiable. What can be negotiated is the means to independence". Mr. Machel declared that it was not Frelimo's policy to attain independence with the object of throwing Whites out of the country. The organization wanted all the people of Mozambique to live in freedom.

In another broadcast, Mr. Machel stated that he had told Frelimo members to step up the fight and to extend it to new areas of the country. There would be no peace until colonialism and imperialism were defeated and national independence achieved, he said.

The other insurgent group, Coremo (The Committee for Revolution in Mozambique) had been dormant for some time. Its leaders are said to have accepted the offer to come into the open and operate as a political party, but the organization disintegrated.

Intensified military action by Frelimo

As ordered by Mr. Machel, Frelimo stepped up its military activities, presumably in order to be able to negotiate from a position of strength.

There were further attacks on and near the railway line running north from Beira. On 9 May, five guerrillas were seen triggering off landmines, which derailed seventeen trucks of a goods train. Three people were injured. In that locality, on the same day, a mail train was raked with machine-gun fire, killing a Coloured woman and severely wounding a number of other passengers. Three days later the engine and three trucks of another train were derailed by a landmine explosion, causing injuries to three men. Again the wives of railwaymen, this time in the Tete area, formed a human barrier across the line, demanding better measures to protect their menfolk.

On 21 May fifteen trucks of a Beira-bound goods train were derailed, wreckage being scattered over the buckled track for more than a kilometre. A week later guerrillas machine-gunned a mail train, but the shots were deflected by armour-plating.

During June, a long length of track was blown up just before a goods train was due to pass; the engine and five trucks of another goods train were derailed, badly injuring four men; three men engaged on repairing the track were critically wounded by the explosion of anti-personnel mines; a mail train was machine-gunned, wounding four passengers; and a long length of track was again blown up. A railway town and military garrison was bombarded. On two occasions railwaymen went on strike, insisting on better protection. Steam locomotives were then replaced by diesels.

In July, August, and September stretches of the railway line were blown up on at least twelve separate occasions. One train was derailed and two raked with machine gun fire, killing two men and wounding seven. A soldier on guard duty was killed and two others wounded.

Further attacks took place along the road linking Beira with Rhodesia. A bus was ambushed on 16 May, three people being killed. There were three ambushes on 21 and 22 May. A private motorist with a machine gun managed to fight off his attackers. But a soldier was killed when shots were fired at a patrol vehicle. A gang opened fire on a car in which six officials were travelling, killing three of them and wounding the others. Three men were killed and one wounded in ambushes during July.

Stretches of the Beira—Umtali railway line were blown up on four occasions in July and August, on each occasion derailing a locomotive and several trucks. Insurgents fired on one of the wrecked trains. Goods piled up at Beira and along the line. For a period the Rhodesia Railways refused to accept either goods or passenger traffic.

A fully-loaded bus travelling from Beira via Inchope to Lourenço Marques was raked with automatic fire on 9 May, caught alight, and plunged out of control down a hill. Six Africans died of wounds or in the blaze, and about 25 were taken to hospital. It was decided by the authorities that traffic along this road would travel in armed convoys.

Guerrillas shot and killed a White farmer on his land at Gondola, to the north-west of Beira, on 13 May. A few days later another farmer was reported missing. His tractor was found on fire.

Between May and July there were attacks on at least thirty aldeamentos (protected African villages), huts being destroyed and numbers of inhabitants killed, injured, maimed, or captured. Several tribal chiefs and African farmers were murdered, and other people were killed or wounded in ambushes or landmine explosions.

Shots were fired at military barracks at Vila Gouveia, to the north-west of Beira, but the attackers were repulsed. Guerrillas swept through a camp in the Gorongosa national park, firing and throwing grenades. Two African guards were wounded. Four villages were attacked, resulting in at least four civilian deaths.

Three of these villages were in the narrowest, central part of the territory to the north of Beira, stretching inland past the southernmost corner of Malawi and the railway line to Tete. The most severe of these attacks, sustained for three days, was on the village of Morrumbala. It was reported that more than 130 Whites panicked and fled, some being airlifted out, and that paratroopers were flown in to reinforce the local garrison. An army patrol operating in this central area was ambushed, three soldiers being killed and five badly wounded. Two sawmills were wrecked. A number of White-storekeepers and farmers fled.

In June there was a rocket attack on an army base at Mueda, near the Tanzanian border in the northern Cabo Delgado district. The Portuguese authorities announced shortly afterwards that various army garrisons were being withdrawn from the northern and north-eastern borders, the troops being redeployed further south. The garrisons there had been under heavy attack, and men were killed almost every time convoys with supplies travelled along the mined and ambushed roads in the area.

There were reports that some of the men in these garrisons had refused to continue fighting. Some Black soldiers stationed at a post in the north-east were stated to have defected to Frelimo. Morale in the army was said to be deteriorating. Conscripts from Portugal and local Africans were refusing to go into action, as peace negotiations appeared to be imminent. Some 2 000 "rookies" sent to the army headquarters at Nampula refused to leave their barracks. A number of troops at a post in the central part of the territory deserted to join Frelimo. At various garrisons there was fraternisation between Portuguese soldiers and Frelimo fighters: all the defenders at one army post were tricked into surrendering, having been told that an official cease-fire had been declared.

During this stage of uncertainty, roving groups of African "bandits"—possibly Army deserters—attacked a number of White-owned farms, villages, and a fishing settlement, doing considerable damage. Some of the Whites fled. White farmers are said to have appealed to Mr. Samora Machel, urging that Frelimo should protect them. Such protection was promised by local Frelimo commanders in several areas.

Negotiations for a settlement

It was announced during June that the Portuguese Foreign Minister was to meet Mr. Machel to discuss the future of Mozambique. In a speech made in Lisbon President De Spinola is reported to have said that independence could come only as a result of a democratic process. Any ceasefire agreement would by no means imply the recognition of any particular nationalist movement as being representative of the country generally. The basis for de-colonisation must be a ceasefire and the establishment of peace, reconstruction and economic development, and the creation of democratic systems.

At an OAU summit meeting in Mogadishu, however, Mr. Machel said that agreement could be reached only when Lisbon publicly recognized Mozambique's right to total and absolute independence, and acknowledged Frelimo to be the legitimate voice of the people of the territory. He was prepared to negotiate only on the method to be adopted for the transfer of political power.

Meanwhile, in Mozambique, a *de facto*, unofficial ceasefire was gradually brought about. Whites in the Tete area entertained a large Frelimo group, and Frelimo held meetings in the area assuring civilians that they had nothing to fear. Portuguese troops and Frelimo fighters began removing landmines from paths and roads around the town. A crowd estimated at 10 000, more than 1 000 of them White, attended a meeting in Lourenço Marques at which pro-Frelimo speakers talked about the future of the territory. It was stated that Frelimo wanted everyone to stay. Its struggle had not been against the Whites, but against colonialism. A leading spokesman for the Democrats of Mozambique associated himself with Frelimo: the Democrats had backed the introduction of Frelimo rule, especially after some of its members had been to Dar-es-Salaam for discussions with Mr. Machel.

But by no means all the Whites shared these views. It was reported that many were leaving the country, by sea and air.

Agreement reached between Portugal and Frelimo

On 7 September the Portuguese Minister without Portfolio met Mr. Machel in Lusaka, and an agreement was issued, signed by the Minister as representing the Portuguese Government, and by Mr. Machel as the representative of the Mozambique Liberation Front. An immediate ceasefire was decided upon.

The agreement stated that Mozambique would become completely independent on 25 June 1975. During the transitional period there would be a High Commissioner appointed by the Portuguese President, and a transitional government consisting of a Prime Minister appointed by the Mozambique Liberation Front (MLF), six Ministers appointed by this Front, and three Ministers appointed by the High Commissioner.

A military commission would be established, consisting of equal numbers of representatives of the Portuguese armed forces and the MLF. Should any serious disruption of the public order require intervention by the armed forces, the command and co-ordination would be entrusted to the High Commissioner assisted by the Prime Minister. The Portuguese State and the MLF would act jointly, if necessary, in the defence of the territorial integrity of Mozambique against aggression.

The MLF and the Portuguese State solemnly declared their aim to establish and develop links of friendship and constructive co-operation between their respective peoples in all fields. They undertook to act jointly in order to eliminate all vestiges of colonialism and to create true harmony, on the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of race, ethnicity, religion, or sex.

The MLF declared its readiness to accept responsibility for financial obligations undertaken by the Portuguese State in the name of Mozambique, provided that those obligations had been undertaken in the effective interest of the territory. A central bank would be created in Mozambique.

Reactions and rioting in Mozambique

The publication of this agreement caused much rejoicing among Frelimo members and supporters in Mozambique, notably in Lourenço Marques. Mass rallies were held by triumphant people. The Democrats of Mozambique movement decided to disband.

Many of the Whites, however, were embittered because Portugal had not honoured its original statement that a national referendum would be held to decide the future of the territory, and that a ceasefire agreement would not imply the recognition of any particular nationalist movement as being representative of the country generally.

Whites of the right-wing groups were incensed at what they considered to be a precipitate handover to Frelimo. They continued to maintain that all the peoples of the territory should have a voice in deciding its future. Many were resentful of the exultant attitude among Blacks, and feared for their own future. Some said to have been members of Fico and/or the "Dragons of Death", apparently began planning an armed uprising, or even a UDI.

In this atmosphere of tension, a minor incident on 7 September touched off mob reaction and led to four days of serious rioting. White citizens of extreme right-wing views, who, apparently almost on the spur of the moment adopted the name "Movement to Free Mozambique" (MFM), stormed through the central part of Lourenço Marques smashing up the offices of organizations considered by them to be supporters or sympathisers of Frelimo, including those of newspapers and the university students' association. An army ammunition dump outside the city was blown up. A group entered the central prison and freed about 200 members of the DGS who had been jailed after the coup. Led by the head of FICO, armed men seized the Radio Club and began broadcasting messages calling on the people to resist a Frelimo take-over of the country. False claims were, apparently, made about the extent of support that the rebels possessed. The people of the city were urged to show their solidarity by assembling in the main square nearby: apparently about 10 000 did, mainly Whites (the total White population of Lourenço Marques numbered some 120 000). Women and children were positioned in front of the Radio Club building to deter the police from attacking it. For a time the airport control tower, too, was occupied by the rebels.

The army and police are said to have done all they could to avoid bloodshed, shooting, if this appeared necessary, over people's heads. After some three days the crowds dispersed, and troops persuaded the MFM to evacuate the Radio Club building.

It was reported, however, that about a hundred armed White ex-commandos had made a number of sorties into the canhicos (African shanty suburbs ringing the town), shooting indiscriminately, throwing hand grenades, and killing and wounding a number of people. Many Africans fled to outlying villages. Incensed by this and by the general attitudes of Whites, Africans retaliated by hurling stones at cars driven by Whites, overturning some of them and setting them alight. Violence erupted in areas where Whites and Blacks lived intermingled, homes being ransacked, and stores looted. Many people lost their lives. White residents panicked, large numbers fleeing to the centre of the city. Gunfire was heard in many outlying areas. It is said that Whites on isolated farms were attacked. Africans set up road blocks and searched cars for arms.

After four days the rioting died down. Army re-inforcements, followed by Frelimo troops, arrived by air and sea to help to restore order.

It was officially announced on 21 September that 115 people had been killed (93 Africans, 20 Whites, and 2 Coloured), and 529 had been injured. At one stage, as bodies piled up, a bulldozer was used to scrape a mass grave.

Further rioting took place during October. There was serious fighting in the centre of the city between Portuguese commandos and Frelimo soldiers, apparently provoked by the commandos. Some of the latter, accompanied by White civilians, are reported then to have entered the African suburbs, shooting indiscriminately. The Africans retaliated, killing and injuring a number of Whites. It was stated that at least 44 people were killed and 88 badly injured.

About 240 of the commandos who had been involved were flown back to Portugal and, apparently, imprisoned there. Several hundred people, mainly Africans, were arrested on charges of having disturbed order and stability. Many more Whites decided to leave the country.

Situation in Beira

Some disorder took place in Beira, but on a far smaller scale than in Lourenço Marques. A crowd of between two and three thousand, nearly all Whites, occupied the main city square for some hours. A hand grenade was flung at a Government-sponsored bank the employees of which had made known their support for Frelimo. Troops used tear-gas to disperse demonstrators, and guarded the radio station and other key positions. A few people were injured and a policeman killed.

Refugees from Mozambique

It was estimated that considerably more than a thousand people, almost all Whites, poured into South Africa, coming from Mozambique by rail, by road, or crossing mountain passes. Some had abandoned their vehicles and continued on foot. Many were destitute. Others went by sea to Durban.

For a couple of weeks the S.A. authorities waived border formalities. Large numbers of the refugees went to stay with relatives or friends. With the assistance of several local authorities, the Department of Social Welfare provided temporary emergency accommodation for the others, and established a refugee relief fund.

All of those who had come to S.A. were required to register, however, and on 16 September it was announced that immigration requiremens would not be relaxed. Residence and work permits would be granted only to those who were likely to make useful contributions to the country's wellbeing, and certainly not to unskilled persons. A little later, on 30 September, the Minister of the Interior stated that further persons entering the Republic without the necessary travel documents would expose themselves to prosecution and removal. A spokesman for the Portuguese Embassy stated that refugees who refused to return to Mozambique and were not accepted by S.A. would have to be sent to Portugal at the Lisbon Government's expense. A senior representative of the new regime established in Mozambique said that the leaders of the right-wing MFM were criminals, and those of them who had not fled the country would be brought before the courts. But people who had thrown in their support in an emotive situation, and innocent refugees who had left in panic, would have nothing to fear.

Other refugees went to Swaziland or Rhodesia.

The new regime in Mozambique

The Portuguese President appointed Admiral Vitor Crespo to be High Commissioner in Mozambique.

On 16 September delegations from Frelimo, the Tanzanian Government, and the OAU flew into Lourenco Marques. It was announced a few days later that the Prime Minister was to be Mr. Joaquim A. Chissano, the third-ranking Frelimo leader. Four Whites were included in his Cabinet.

Mr. Machel, who was expected to become President after independence, announced that the transitional government would have to tackle the country's financial crisis, the wide-spread poverty, and the lack of housing. Frelimo's ideology would be promoted through the schools and by party committees to be formed in factories and offices: superstition, individualism, and selfish ambition would be combated. People should not expect instant wage increases, and strikes had no place in the new Mozambique. All of those who lived from honest work, including the majority of the White population, would have a part to play in the country's future.

Foreign policy

Mr. Vorster has repeatedly stressed that S.A.'s policy is one of non-interference in the domestic affairs of neighbouring states. In the Assembly on 30 August [1] he said that it was not for S.A. to lay down what kind of government should be established in Mozambique. The necessary liaison had been maintained "with those with whom it had to be maintained." S. A. was interested only in seeing a sound and stable government in Mozambique, and would co-operate with any such government.

Mr. Chissano stated that the foreign policy of his interim government would be based on the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. It would maintain existing friendly relations, and hoped to increase them.

Matters that will have to be settled between S.A. and Mozambique include the recruitment of labour for the Republic's gold mines, and the future sale of power from the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric scheme.

In a speech made in Nigel on 5 November, Mr. Vorster said that S.A. had received assurances in regard to these matters. It had also received assurances that Mozambique would not be used as a launching pad for people wanting to sabotage S.A.

EVENTS IN ANGOLA

Military action prior to the coup in Lisbon

Angola has a population of roughly 5½ to 6 million Africans and half a million Whites. In recent years nearly 70 000 Portuguese troops, nearly half of them Africans, have been opposing, possibly, up to 11 000 guerrilla fighters, of whom about 6 000 were in camps across the borders, mainly in Zaire, but some being in Zambia or the Congo (Brazzaville).

As indicated in the 1973 *Survey*, guerrilla activities in Angola lost momentum some two years or more ago. One reason has been the decreased local African support because of large-scale economic development, raising general standards of living very considerably. Another reason is the vast size of the territory and its underpopulation in the north and east, where the guerrillas were operating. The wars devolved into mainly policing action from a ring of military camps, with sporadic clashes only.

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[1] Hansard 4 cols. 1857—60.

A third and highly significant reason has been the deep divisions between and within the insurgent groups, because of personality problems and differences in policy. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), whose main leader is Dr. Agostinho Neto, split into three factions, with a few fighters in the territory itself but most of the supporters in either Brazzaville or Zambia. Its only reported military action in 1974 was an abortive attack on two trains.

The most significant group militarily has been Mr. Holden Roberto's Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), with headquarters in Kinshasa (Zaire). About 170 of its fighters penetrated Angola in July, but were pinned down by paratroopers who inflicted a number of casualties. Other fighters ambushed supply convoys heading for army garrisons, killing and wounding a few of the soldiers. Three Army helicopters are stated to have been shot down.

The smallest but probably most active group has been the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), led by Dr. Jonas Savimbi, based in Angola itself with reserves in Zambia. Between May and July its fighters ambushed several military convoys, killing almost 70 soldiers. UNITA as well as the other groups refrained from attacking the Benguela railway line as this would have prejudiced the economic interests of Zaire and Zambia.

Events following the coup

After the Portuguese coup on 25 April the Governor General and district governors were deposed and replaced temporarily by a military junta. Peace negotiations were commenced. More than 2 000 political prisoners were released: many told of atrocities at the hands of the DGS. As in Mozambique, a number of political parties sprang into being.

The Junta in Lisbon announced in August that the first requisite for a peaceful future for the territory was a ceasefire agreement. Portugal would then set up a provisional government representative of all racial groups, the viable political parties, and the liberation movements. Arrangements would be made for the election within two years of a constitutional assembly. As soon as this body had agreed upon a new constitution, general elections would be held.

Dr. Savimbi of UNITA agreed to call a ceasefire and to participate in negotiations leading to a share in government by all groups. He had considerable support among Africans who had not previously played an active part in politics, and is a member of the Ovimbundu tribe, stated to constitute about 38 per cent of the population. Partly through the distribution of leaflets, he launched a political campaign against MPLA and FNLA guerrillas, who accused him of being a traitor to the Black cause. Whites began to give him moral support.

Dr. Agostinho Neto of MPLA stated that he had no intention of stopping the fighting before Portugal recognized the people's right to full independence. Not all of the members of his Movement agreed: reports stated that some of them, near the Zambia border, held unofficial talks with Portuguese Army field units. MPLA supporters came out into the open in the main city of Luanda, where a political action committee was set up and spokesmen, some of them ex-political detainees, tended to follow Dr. Neto's line.

Members of FNLA, as of MPLA, appeared to be divided in their opinions, but at the time, most of the leaders appeared to agree with Dr. Neto's attitude.

The OAU appointed the presidents of the Congo, Zaire, Zambia, and Tanzania to try to reconcile the views of the various movements and the differences within the MPLA. They called a meeting of MPLA and FNLA leaders (UNITA was not represented), after which a communiqué was issued stating that the MPLA would hold a conference to try to resolve internal divisions. Thereafter, MPLA and FNLA would establish a common front to negotiate Angola's full independence from Portugal.

Meanwhile, tensions had been building up in Luanda between Black and White extremists, and between factions of MPLA and FNLA. It was reported on 27 May that, during a visit by the Portuguese Minister of Inter-Territorial Co-ordination to discuss the future of Angola, a mass gathering of Africans demanded immediate full independence under the leadership of ex-guerrilla fighters. There was some violence, cars being stoned. A large crowd of Whites staged a counter-demonstration. Over the weeks that followed and until early August there were sporadic outbursts of violence. A night curfew was imposed during the worst periods of tension. Troops were flown from Portugal to help the local forces to restore order. The casualty roll was reported to have totalled about 20 killed and 150 wounded, mostly Blacks. As in Mozambique, considerable numbers of Whites left the territory.

A further cause for dissention has been over the future of the small oil-producing enclave of Cabinda, to the north, which Portugal included for administrative purposes in the overseas province of Angola. It is reported that the neighbouring Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville both covet this area, but that two groups of people from Cabinda (one of them in exile in Zaire) have been pressing for independence, separately from Angola.

Among the political parties that have survived in Angola since the days of confusion in April and May is the Christian

Democratic Party of Angola (PCDA). It was reported from Luanda on 28 October that the military junta had foiled an attempted UDI by White extremists, most of them being members of this party. Another report termed the White extremists the FRA (Front for Armed Resistance).

A second group is the United Front for Angola (FUA) which, before it was launched as a political party in about August, was popularly known as a "Fourth Force", counter-balancing the three liberation movements. It is headed by a White engineer, Mr. Fernando Falcao, and has a policy of multi-racialism and a political system that will avoid dominance by any one group.

During August the President of the controlling Junta formed a provisional government for Angola, headed by himself. Vacancies were left open for liberation movement leaders who support democratic government. One of the senior posts went to Mr. Falcao. His FUA had challenged the Junta to state squarely whether Whites would have a say in the territory's political future, or whether the liberation movements only would be consulted.

Several leading political figures, including Mr. Falcao, were invited to Lisbon in September for direct discussions with President De Spinola, prior to the granting of local autonomy to the provisional government. At this stage, however, General De Spinola resigned from the presidency.

Meanwhile, a large FNLA force had penetrated peacefully into the coffee-growing district to the west of Luanda, appearing to have agreed with the army and civil authorities on an unofficial cease-fire, and with MPLA leaders on forming a common front for negotiations.

During October, both FNLA and the MPLA agreed to an official cease-fire. Representatives of the various liberation movements (including rival MPLA factions) went to Luanda. Serious clashes between supporters of different groups took place in this city in mid-November, about a hundred people being killed.

EVENTS IN GUINEA-BISSAU

Guinea-Bissau is a small country on the coast of the western "bulge" of N. Africa, situated between Senegal and Guinea-Conakry. According to various reports, some 2 000 Portuguese businessmen and their families lived there among approximately 600 000 Africans. The previous regime in Portugal defended the territory with about 30 000 to 36 000 troops, one-third or more being local Africans, against Mr. Luis Cabral's African Party for Independence for Guinea and Cabo Verde (PAIGC).

In mid-1973, the PAIGC set up a council of state which it declared to be the government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. It claimed to be in control of two-thirds or more of the territory.

Rapidly increasing numbers of states recognized this government as being the *de facto* one.

Fighting continued during the first four months of 1974, with fairly heavy casualties on both sides. However, following the coup in Lisbon soldiers from both forces appeared ready to lay down their arms with little delay, and fraternization soon took place.

The PAIGC announced that it was prepared to negotiate with the new Portuguese regime provided that there was advance recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and of the right of its people and those of the Cape Verde Islands and Mozambique and Angola to self-determination and independence.

The future of the Cape Verde Islands proved to be one of the most difficult matters on which to reach agreement. The people of these Islands are of mixed Portuguese and African descent, speak Creole, and are more westernized than the inhabitants of Guinea. Apparently far from all of them wanted to fall under PAIGC rule. And there were further considerations. The Islands are of strategic importance to the West, being situated on shipping lanes. On one of them, named Sal, an airfield has been constructed to facilitate "round the bulge" flights by the S.A. Airways and Portugal's TAP airline.

At the end of May the new Portuguese Foreign Minister and its Minister of Inter-Territorial Co-ordination held talks in London with a PAIGC delegation led by Major Pedro Pires. After a week these discussions were suspended to allow both sides to consult their heads of state. Negotiations were continued in Algiers during June, but again broke down temporarily.

On 26 August, however, agreement was reached at a further meeting in Algiers. A joint statement was issued declaring that Portugal would formally recognise the independence of the (PAIGC) Republic of Guinea-Bissau as from 10 September, and would withdraw all Portuguese forces from this country by the end of the following month. There would be an immediate cease-fire. The two countries would establish full diplomatic relations and would co-operate with one another in every way.

Portugal pledged itself to hold a referendum on the Cape Verde Islands at an unspecified date, to enable the people of these Islands to express their own views about their political future.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

GENERAL

Speaking during the Budget Debate on his vote in September, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. H. Muller, said that while the Opposition created the impression that S.A. was almost totally isolated this was surely totally unfounded. He admitted that "isolation is a threat to us. It is the objective of our enemies. I want to admit at once that they have succeeded in isolating South Africa in some respects. But in most spheres, in the important spheres, their attempts have failed". The Minister pointed to the extension of the Republic's international trade in spite of attempts and resolutions aimed at boycott, as an example.[1]

Dr. Muller told the House of Assembly that S.A. was represented at Embassy level in 26 countries and at Legation level in a further two, while there was reciprocal diplomatic representation with Rhodesia. Twenty-one countries were represented at Embassy level in the Republic with a further two being represented at Legation level.[2]

A decision was taken by the Government to train citizens of the Transkei and Indian and Coloured people for the diplomatic and information services.[3] The Minister of Information announced later that Black information officers were to be appointed to the information service in New York, London, Cologne and Paris.[4]

THE UNITED NATIONS

Events in the UN dealing with South West Africa (Namibia) and guerrilla movements are covered in the relevant sections of this *Survey*.

In May the UN Special Committee on Apartheid began a series of meetings in Dublin, Rome, East Berlin and Geneva, aimed at "concerted international action to eradicate apartheid".[1]

Shortly before leaving S.A. for New York, the S.A. Minister of Foreign Affairs told Parliament that the UN often passed resolutions, particularly insofar as S.A. was concerned, which contained veiled exhortations for the use of force and violence to overthrow lawfully constituted Governments. He said that the picture at the UN was certainly not rosy for S.A. and pointed out that in 1973 twelve per cent of the 151 resolutions adopted by the General Assembly had contained attacks on the Republic. The Minister went on to say that a question mark arose about the future and the coming session in particular, for despite S.A.'s desire to co-operate with the UN, there were limits beyond which she was not prepared to go.[2] The Government announced that its delegation to the forthcoming session of the General Assembly would include as observers, the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the prominent Coloured educationist, Mr. Daniel Ulster, and Dr. M. B. Naidoo, a member of the executive committee of the S.A. Indian Council.[3]

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[1] Hansard 6 col. 2629, 11 September.
[2] Hansard 6 cols. 403-406, 10 September.
[3] Hansard 6 col. 2588, 10 September.
[4] Hansard 9 cols. 4234-5, 2 October.
[1] *Star*, 17 May.

In New York the president of the UN General Assembly, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria, felt that developments in S.A., including the additions to the UN delegation, would not lead African states to a "naïve optimism". He said: "What is perfectly clear is that the decolonisation of the last African territory under colonial domination rings a qualitative change on the scale of the continent which will not fail to have repercussions. The policy of segregation, which marks in an indelible fashion the southern part of our continent, is a shameful brand for the rest of humanity." Mr. Bouteflika believed that "Africa belongs to the Africans without distinction of race or religion".[4]

In an address to the General Assembly the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Mario Soares, expressed the change in Portugal's attitude towards S.A. in the following terms: "The Portuguese Government declares itself against all forms of oppression and racial discrimination and, although it adheres to the fundamental norm of non-interference in the affairs of other states, it cannot but condemn the existence and perpetuation of discriminatory social systems such as apartheid." [5]

The UN special political committee granted observer status to the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, while the African group at the UN launched a move to challenge S.A.'s credentials.[6] The General Assembly rejected the credentials of the S.A. delegation and asked the Security Council to rule on her standing with the UN by a vote of 98 to 23 with 14 abstentions. A call for the General Assembly to "review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa in the light of the constant violation by South Africa of the principle of the charter and the universal declaration of human rights" was adopted by 125 votes to South Africa's one, with nine abstentions.[7]

The Portuguese delegate to the UN, Dr. Francisco Ramos da Costa, attacked "apartheid as practised, apartheid as policy and apartheid as principle" in the special political committee. He declared: "We are happy to be able to erase the shame which consisted of seeing the name of Portugal beside those of the countries which persist in imposing inhuman and anachronistic racial discrimination through minority hegemony."[8]

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[2] Hansard 6, cols. 2584-5, 10 September.

[3] Hansard 6 col. 2587, 10 September.

[4] *Star*, 19 September.

[5] *Ibid*, 24 September.

[6] *Star*, 27 September.

[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 October.

In October the Security Council began to hear submissions in connection with the Republic's status at the UN. On the eve of the S.A. ambassador's address to the Security Council, the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, delivered what was widely recognised as a major policy statement in the Senate. Mr. Vorster's speech was attended by no fewer than eight Cabinet Ministers, the Leader of the Opposition, a large number of M.P.s and members of the diplomatic corps. Much of the essence of this speech was conveyed to the Security Council on the following day—24 October. Among the major points made by Mr. Vorster were: Southern Africa was at the crossroads and had to choose between peace or escalating conflict; S.A. was prepared to do all in her power to promote order and stability in Africa through technical and monetary assistance in Africa; the Republic's attitude remained that of non-intervention in the affairs of others and she would sign non-aggression pacts with any African country; and the will to normalise relations in Southern Africa was there in spite of stumbling blocks and problems. Mr. Vorster went on to say of Mozambique that order had to be restored as soon as possible and sources of income had to be protected. It was of the greatest economic interest to Mozambique and Southern Africa that the rail links and harbours of Nacala, Beira and Lourenço Marques remain open for South Africa, Zambia, Malawi and Rhodesia. It was also of great importance that the Mozambique labour agreements be maintained and that power from Cabora Bassa reached S.A. These were sources of revenue for Mozambique and he hoped her leaders would see things in the same light.

On Rhodesia, Mr. Vorster said that it was unfortunate that recent attempts by Mr. Ian Smith to find a solution appeared to have failed. Suggestions that S.A. had been holding the Rhodesian Government back were untrue. Mr. Vorster believed: "It is in the interests of all parties to find a solution." With goodwill the matter could be settled and an honourable solution could be found.

In the case of South West Africa, the Republic would not withdraw suddenly. The only solution to the territory's problems was for the people concerned to decide things for themselves.

Conflict in Southern Africa had to be avoided. In the prevailing circumstances it would not be unfitting if Southern Africa set up its own United Nations to encourage peace, progress and development.

In an hour-long speech to the Security Council, the Republic's ambassador, Mr. R. F. Botha, said that S.A. did have discriminatory laws and practices and unsavoury and reprehensible incidents between Blacks and Whites did occur. However, the S.A. Government did not condone discrimination purely on the grounds of race or colour. The situation in the Republic was changing and, moreover, in a peaceful and orderly way. Mr. Botha strongly opposed S.A.'s expulsion from the UN saying: "We have not waged war against Black Africa or against anyone. We were, in fact, the first African nationalists. Black Africans need not conduct a freedom struggle against my government. Being an African country, we understand African aspirations. We have stolen land from nobody. We have conquered no people. We threaten no one. We have absolutely no designs of aggrandisement."

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[8] *Ibid*, 9 October

Mr. Vorster's statement was welcomed by the Zambian President, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda.[9] However, Kenya, Mauritania and Cameroon, the three African members of the Security Council, moved a resolution calling for S.A.'s "immediate expulsion" from the UN. This resolution came to the vote in the Security Council on 30 October and was passed by ten votes to three, with Austria and Costa Rico abstaining. Apart from the three African States, Australia, Russia, Byelorussia, China, Indonesia, Iraq and Peru supported the motion. Subsequently the U.S., Britain and France vetoed the resolution in the first triple veto in UN history.[10]

About two weeks later, however, the General Assembly resolved, by 91 votes to 22 with 19 abstentions, to suspend S.A. from its proceedings for the current year's session. The S.A. Government then decided to withhold payment of S.A.'s annual contribution, which amounted to about R660 000, on the ground that the suspension had been illegal. The S.A. Ambassador was recalled to the Republic for consultation.

NATO

In January the General Secretary of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, Dr. Luns, told the S.A. Progressive Party leader, Mr. Colin Eglin, that it was politically impossible for NATO to have closer relations with S.A. in the foreseeable future.[1]

A report produced by the Institute for the Study of Conflict maintained that Russian and Chinese support for guerrilla movements in Africa meant that any victories for revolutionary movements "would produce regimes indebted either to the Soviet Union or to China, or both . . . Any such outcome of Africa's guerrilla wars, or to the struggle for power in various countries, would threaten all Western interests, and not least the security of the Cape oil route." The report concluded that it was essential that tanker traffic on the Cape route "should not be impeded by extraneous factors such as conflict in the Gulf or by interference with the tankers on their way to their destinations." [2]

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[9] *Rand Daily Mail*, 21, 24-26 October, *Star*, 25 October; *Sunday Times*, 27 October.
[10] *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 October.
[1] *Star*, 22 January.
[2] *Natal Mercury*, 9 March.

It was alleged that NATO strategists were hastening a comprehensive study into the security of sea transport in the Indian Ocean, especially around the Cape. The strategic study, so it was said, did not involve any commitment for either the alliance as a whole or for any individual country to involve itself outside the NATO area. Apparently, although NATO's military men viewed the possibility of Soviet bids for shore bases in Southern Africa with concern, NATO as a command, given its existing charter, would be powerless to intervene.[3]

The visits of squadrons of the British, French and U.S. navies to Simonstown are separately recorded in this section.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

In October South Africa lost its representation on the boards of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and was automatically excluded from the new Interim Committee on World Monetary Fund. She nevertheless remains a member of both the IMF and the World Bank.[4]

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Exchanges between the S.A. authorities and the World Council of Churches became increasingly hostile, thus subjecting the S.A. Council of Churches to considerable strain. The Cape Town presbytery of the Presbyterian Church, for example, called for withdrawal from the WCC, while on the other hand the newly-elected Archbishop of Cape Town, the Rt. Rev. Bill Burnett, said that there was no likelihood of the Anglican Church withdrawing from the WCC.[1] The General Secretary of the S.A. Council of Churches, Mr. John Rees, in supporting continued contact said that in four years the WCC had given something like R280 000 to guerrilla movements while over a period of ten years it had contributed something like R10 million to church work in the Republic. He said that attacks on the S.A.C.C. by the S.A. Broadcasting Corporation suggesting that it was both unrepresentative and un-South African were "completely unwarranted . . . a sly and sinister attempt to divide the rank and file membership of the churches from their own leadership". Mr. Rees said that the S.A.C.C. continued to state its belief that the WCC action in giving aid to guerrilla movements implicitly supported violence. The S.A.C.C. was more convinced than ever that dialogue with the WCC should be maintained.[2] (See the relevant chapter of this *Survey* for further comment.)

In October the S.A. Government refused to grant a visa to Dr. A. H. van den Heuvel, Secretary-General of the Netherlands

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[3] *Star*, 15 October.
[4] *Star*, 20 October.
[1] *Star*, 19 April and 1 May.
[2] *Dimension*, May 1974.

Reformed Church. The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie Mulder, issued the following statement in this connection:

> "After very careful consideration and after having consulted with the Prime Minister, the visa application of Dr. A. H. van den Heuvel has been refused due to utterances he has made in the past, his motives, his intimate involvement with the World Council of Churches in the past, his current endorsement of the aims of the World Council of Churches, his proposed visit to the South African Council of Churches at the invitation of this council, and due to other information which for understandable reasons I do not wish to divulge at present."[3]

A 72-man delegation from S.A. attended the first assembly of the International Congress on World Evangelisation held in Geneva in July. Some people see the new organisation as an attempt by conservatives to set up a rival to the WCC. There was apparently a serious division of opinion between Black and White S.A. delegates on the provision of separate facilities at the conference.[4]

OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES

The Co-ordinating Council for the Professional Association of Social Workers in S.A. was allowed to continue its membership of the International Federation of Social Workers at a conference held in Nairobi in July. A condition that the S.A. co-ordinating council regard itself as a step towards a multi-racial national association was imposed.[5]

A delegation from S.A. attended an International Development Conference held at Abidjan, Ivory Coast, in August. Delegates felt that while they had been hospitably received on a personal level, S.A. had been treated as irrelevant.[6]

An international conference on water problems jointly organised by the World Meteorological Organisation and the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation in Paris in September voted by 45 to 18 to exclude S.A. from its meeting.[7]

AFRICA

General

South African exports to African countries rose by 13 per cent to R344 200 000 in 1973, while her imports from Africa rose by 25 per cent to R190 400 000, giving her a favourable trade balance of R153 800 000.[1]

At the African-American "dialogue" held in Addis Ababa in December 1973, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi put forward the South African Black case for relief from the Arab oil blockade but was unable to get the O.A.U. to change its stance on the embargo.[2] Upon his return to S.A. Chief Buthelezi said that Black African leaders would change their present hard line on S.A. issues if Black and White South Africans were to engage in serious and meaningful dialogue within the country.[3]

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[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 October.

[4] *Ibid.*, 23, 24 and 26 July; *Ecunews Bulletin*, 23/74, 22 July.

[5] *Star*, 24 July.

[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 August; *Star*, 22 August; *Rapport*, 25 August.

[7] *Star*, 3 September.

[1] *Commerce and Industry*, August 1974, p. 382.

In Geneva, fourteen liberation movements including the A.N.C., P.A.C., and SWAPO were admitted to the diplomatic conference updating the Red Cross war conventions in spite of South African protest.[4]

Mr. Vorster, the S.A. Prime Minister, when opening the fifteenth congress of the International Society of Sugar Cane Technologists in Durban, said that S.A. had the necessary technology available and the desire to assist her neighbours in their development through the use of this technology.[5]

During July, Progressive Party Members of Parliament visited five African states. Brief comment on their visits is recorded below under the countries concerned. The Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, during the debate on the Defence Further Amendment Bill, said: "This is also the reply to the hon. member for Rondebosch (Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert—P.P.), who is a young man, and who ought to be ashamed to conduct negotiations with the friends of terrorists and to fight his own Government when it wants to take measures to resist murderers and rapists of White and Black women. It is a disgrace. That party stands branded today as a party which is prepared to conduct negotiations with the friends of terrorists. It also stands branded as the party which is not prepared to help South Africa to take measures against them . . . Those hon. members are allowed to move freely in those countries in which terrorists are trained. If I were to go there, I would be apprehended."[6]

On the other hand, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. H. Muller, told Mr. C. Eglin M.P. (P.P.) that between 1 July 1973 and 30 June 1974 formal communications had taken place with the Governments of twelve African states, but it was accepted practice that such communications were confidential and, therefore, no details could be given.[7]

The Minister of Defence later commented upon relations with African states in the following way:

> "I personally had discussions with different African States at a very high level. I met some of the heads of State. I was received with the greatest respect by them. I visited a number of these countries on more than one occasion . . . I have even received a decoration from one of them which I am allowed to wear whenever I like to do so. Over the years I have not advertised this fact . . . I did not do this, because I was more interested in South Africa than in propaganda. In

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[2] *Star*, 5 December 1973.
[3] *Ibid.*, 17 December 1973.
[4] *Ibid.*, 2 March.
[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 June.
[6] Hansard 4 cols. 1478-9, 26 August.
[7] Hansard 5 col. 283, 3 September.

> my discussions I have always stated emphatically, when I have visited those countries, that the Republic of South Africa has no aggressive intentions against any other country."[8]

Mr. J. D. du P. Basson, the U.P. chief spokesman on foreign affairs, said that:

> "We believe that we should realise that instead of being a European state in Africa we should begin to take our place as an African power among African states . . . As yet we have advanced no further than the 'telephone stage' of diplomacy with our nearest neighbours . . . We believe that the real test for South Africa and our future survival will not lie in good relations with Europe or Latin America—necessary as they may be—but in the place that we hammer out for ourselves in Africa."[9]

Mr. D. J. de Villiers for the National Party expressed the view that:

> "The fact that South Africa is an indissoluble part of Africa is a reality to which we shall have to give more expression in various fields . . . there are many people in our country who think that South Africa is an untouchable island in the sea of nations of Africa. The events in Angola and Mozambique and the withdrawal of the Portuguese have brought home to us afresh to what extent we are a part of Africa . . . We shall have to give more content to our African identity . . . In order to be able to do this, we shall have to give up many of our prejudices concerning Africa and the people of Africa . . ."[10]

Mr. R. E. Enthoven for the United Party queried the "enthusiasm" of the Government for its "outward policy". He castigated the Government, and the Minister of Defence in particular, for their "onslaught" on members of the Progressive Party, saying:

> "Who are these friends of terrorists that the hon. the Minister of Defence objects to negotiating with? President Kaunda or Gen. Gowon? Surely, Sir, these and similar leaders are the very people the Government must negotiate with. I will even go further. Never mind the 'friends of terrorists', the Government is going to have to negotiate with the actual terrorists, such as the expected Frelimo government in Mozambique . . . whilst Ministers of State advocate openly that to do this is 'unpatriotic', I think we can expect very little success in the Government's own Africa policy."[11]

Dr. P. Bodenstein (N.P.) felt that it was necessary to distinguish between productive and mutually beneficial dialogue, where "scientific approaches, the communication of technical knowledge, trade links and many and various aspects of this nature" were discussed between two countries, and what he regarded as "cheap politicizing" on the other hand. He warned that: "In this African set-up we are dealing with communistic influence, with the Russians and with the Red Chinese, and it is a fact that certain African states are susceptible to this influence. They are susceptible owing to the material gain and, on a temporary basis, other gain which is [illegible]ved."[12]

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[8] Hansard 6 col. 2484, 9 September.
[9] Hansard 6 col. 2578, 10 September.
[10] Hansard 6 col. 2608, 10 September.
[11] Hansard 6 cols. 2612-3, 10 September.
[12] Hansard 6 cols. 2615-6, 11 September.

On the outward policy in Africa the Minister of Foreign Affairs said that in the year ended 31 July 1974, 24 heads of Governments or Ministers of African states were met by members of the S.A. Government while official contact was made with twelve countries. Moreover, 144 visitors from Africa had been to the Republic for official talks, ten visits by members of the S.A. Government had been paid to other African countries, and 145 S.A. officials visited other African countries. The Minister went on to say "I, too, had talks with the head of state, the president of an African state, not one that borders on the Republic . . . Some time ago I conducted discussions with the emissaries of a faraway state in Africa . . . After six days those two gentlemen, the advisers to a president of Africa, spontaneously offered to be unofficial ambassadors for South Africa wherever they went . . . There are strong indications that they are keeping their word." [13]

It is plain that in the wake of the Portuguese coup and rapid change in Mozambique and Angola, Africa assumed far greater importance in S.A. political and diplomatic circles in 1974 than before.

The Organisation of African Unity

The Council of Ministers of the O.A.U. met in Mogadishu in June. It considered a detailed report prepared by the O.A.U. secretariat on foreign investment in South Africa including a survey on oil and the embargo in particular.[1] At this meeting President Mohammed Siad Barre of Somalia urged independent African nations to establish a permanent continent-wide army to fight White-dominated countries in the South.[2]

The immediate past president of the O.A.U., Nigeria's Gen. Gowon, later said: "Anyone who wants to be our friend will be our friend. But if anyone wants to be our enemy, we will accept this and fight them. So we'll give South Africans and Rhodesians a chance to reconsider and see whether they will not be good, honest and sincere friends. Our attitude is a very positive one. We do not want to destroy others for the sake of it." [3] The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs said he planned to follow up Gen. Gowen's suggestion.[4] He elaborated upon this in the House of Assembly: "Not so long ago an African head of state made a statement in public in which he came out in favour of dialogue with South Africa. Incidentally, I am following this up at the moment. A few days later the country of this head of state issued a statement in which dialogue was rejected officially. Something of that nature can only be attributed to pressure from the pressure group in the O.A.U. This creates the impression that no progress has been made with dialogue, but in actual fact this is by no means the case in practice, for dialogue is continuing . . . in an unobtrusive manner . . ." [5]

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[13] Hansard 6 cols. 2636-2639, 11 September.
[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 June.
[2] *Ibid.*, 13 June.
[3] *Ibid.*, 18 June.
[4] *Ibid.*, 21 June.

The O.A.U. lodged a strong protest in July against South Africa's presence together with "other racist countries" at the UN Law of the Sea Conference in Caracas.[6]

Lesotho

In a study entitled *Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland: their external relations and policy and attitudes towards South Africa*, Dr. R. Bodenmüller showed that Lesotho imported an estimated 97 per cent of all her imports from South Africa while 53 per cent of all her exports went to the Republic. Moreover, about 52½ per cent of her total Government revenue in 1969/70 was derived from the common customs union with South Africa.

In 1969, 120 000 Basotho workers or 45 per cent of the male labour force had sought employment in S.A. The contribution of this migrant labour to the national income had been substantial and S.A. was vitally necessary for employment opportunities and would be for many years. Among Dr. Bodenmüller's conclusions were that the common labour market in South Africa underscored "the discrepancy between BLS' (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) political sovereignty and their economic dependence on South Africa." [1]

Dr. Bodenmüller concluded that no "friendship" with a state other than S.A. or intensified foreign assistance could neutralize Lesotho's dependence on South Africa because of its geographical location and the labour problem with which it was confronted. Chief Jonathan's Government had no alternative but to advocate friendship and co-operation with S.A.[2]

The Lesotho Minister of Finance, Commerce and Industry, nevertheless, said that Lesotho would not plead for S.A. during the Arab oil embargo although she, too, would have to suffer.[3]

In the first half of the year Lesotho and S.A. were involved in an unfriendly exchange about the transit of Congress Party members who had fled from Lesotho after a short-lived uprising.[4]

Chief Jonathan, the Lesotho Premier, met S.A. Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, at Jan Smuts Airport outside Johannesburg on 8 April. A joint communique stated that they had "cleared up certain misunderstandings that had arisen and reaffirmed their belief and determination that both countries based their relations on the principle of good neighbourliness. Flowing from this, they reiterated the basic principle that neither country will interfere in the domestic affairs of the other. Both countries were committed to peace in the region and the economic progress of the region as a whole." [5]

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[5] Hansard 6 col. 2636, 11 September.

[6] *Star*, 3 July.

[1] R. Bodenmüller, *Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland: their external relations and policy and attitudes towards South Africa*. Pretoria, Africa Institute, 1973, p. 13, 14, 26 and 34.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 166.

[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 December 1973.

[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 1, 6, 16, 19, February and 26 June; *Star*, 24 January and 25 June.

The S.A. Minister of Foreign Affairs commented as follows on relations between the two states: "As far as Lesotho is concerned, fruitful and openhearted talks took place earlier this year between the Prime Ministers of these two states, talks which led to a series of talks in connection with the Malibamatso water scheme, labour matters, etc."[6]

However, in July, King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho speaking at a state banquet in honour of Liberia's President William Tolbert said that: "The possiblity of a tragedy of racial conflict in Southern Africa compels all men of goodwill to the side of justice." Further, that free African states could not rest content while their "brothers and sisters" were deprived of basic and inalienable human rights. The Lesotho Prime Minister said that his country had pledged her solidarity with the "cause of African Liberation . . . We shall not, so long as we live, break this pledge until we see the whole of Africa free." [7] Lesotho and Liberia later signed a pact pledging their support for the liberation of all African countries still under alien domination. They called for sanctions against the "rebel Smith regime" in Rhodesia and gave their "continuous, full and unwavering support for the O.A.U. and UN commitments, their principles and objectives."[8]

At the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea Lesotho pointed out that she was completely surrounded by S.A. which was ruled by a White minority government pursuing inhuman apartheid policies which had caused, so it was said, much anguish and suffering among Lesotho's people. The importance of access to the sea was stressed and Lesotho felt that this should not depend on the discretion of the transit state but should be embodied in an international convention.[9]

In a statement issued after discussions with Chief Jonathan, the leader of the S.A. Progressive Party, Mr. Colin Eglin, said that matters of common concern to both countries had been discussed in a most cordial atmosphere. Among the matters discussed were the position of Basotho working in South Africa, opportunities for investment in Lesotho and problems and advantages arising out of the common customs union. It had been agreed that cordial links would be maintained between the Progressive Party and the Lesotho Government.[10]

In the wake of disturbances which resulted in the return of 10 000 Basotho miners to Lesotho earlier in the year, the head of the second largest church in that country was barred from entering the town of Welkom in the O.F.S. (see section on employment).[11]

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[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 April.
[6] Hansard 6, cols 2637-8, 11 September
[7] *Star*, 2 July, *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 July
[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 July
[9] *Star*, 16 July
[10] *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 July

Swaziland

Dr. Bodenmüller's study [1] of the external relations of the BLS countries showed that Swaziland had a more balanced economic infrastructure and was by far the most developed of these states. Nevertheless, she depended upon S.A. for an estimated 50 per cent of her imports, but only 15 to 21 per cent of her exports went to the Republic. She received about 55 per cent of her estimated total Government revenue in 1972/73 from the common customs union.

She was not as dependent upon the S.A. labour market as Lesotho or Botswana but in 1969, for instance, while there had been 50 100 wage earners in the public service and industry in Swaziland, a further 8 267 wage earners had found employment in South Africa. Numbers employed in the Republic had been rising and 9 035 Swazi citizens were working there in 1970. Thus, although Swaziland was progressing towards economic viability her dependence upon S.A. was unlikely to decline dramatically.

Dr. Bodenmüller concluded that Swaziland's stance on S.A. was the most neutral of those presented by the BLS countries in spite of an outspoken stand on "discrimination" and "racialism".

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Executive of KwaZulu, said, at a banquet given in his honour in Mbabane by King Sobhuza II: "Those of us who are still struggling within South Africa are daily conscious of the importance of Swaziland's role in giving a sanctuary to your brothers from South Africa."[2]

In March the S.A. Department of Foreign Affairs announced that a Swazi delegation led by the Minister of Works, Power and Communication, Dr. A. N. Nxumalo, and including the Ministers of Justice, Finance, and Industries and Tourism was visiting Pretoria for discussions with the S.A. Ministers of Finance, Foreign Affairs and Water Affairs and the deputy Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs. The visit was connected with an exchange of views on possible co-operation in establishing a thermal power station in Swaziland.[3]

In May officials from the Departments of Finance of S.A. and the BLS countries met again, on the initiative of the latter countries, in a series of talks aimed at formalising the existing informal monetary union in terms of which the three neighbour states are part of the rand currency area. Swaziland concluded a bilateral agreement with S.A. to issue its own currency, to be known as emalageni, as from 6 September.[4]

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[11] *Star*, 16 August.
[1] *Op cit*. p. 8-10, 20, and 166-7.
[2] *Star*, 6 February.
[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 March.
[4] *Financial Mail*, 17 May.

A Johannesburg magistrate refused to grant an extradition order upon a Swazi citizen in May, on the grounds that the Government of Swaziland had changed hands by illegal means—a coup d'etat. The S.A. Minister of Foreign Affairs issued the following statement in this connection: "It has been brought to my attention that in a recent application to a magistrate in Johannesburg for the extradition of a person to Swaziland, the magistrate, in refusing the application, is reported to have given as a reason that the Government of Swaziland had changed by illegal means. I wish to make it absolutely clear that the view of the magistrate, if correctly reported, does not represent the view of the South African Government. The Government of South Africa has, ever since the assumption of office by the present Government of Swaziland, recognised it as the constitutional government of that country and continues to recognise it as such." [5]

After a meeting with a S.A. Progressive Party delegation headed by Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., Prince Mahkosini Dlamini, Swaziland's Prime Minister, expressed the hope "that the ascendancy of the Progressive Party would bring about the desired change in South African politics." [6]

The Swazi Prime Minister issued a statement bearing on Swaziland's relations with S.A. after discussions with the heads of Swazi foreign missions in August. He made it clear that "neutrality is the cornerstone of our foreign policy", but went on to say "our policy is self-determination for the people of South Africa and for majority rule." [7]

Botswana

Dr. Bodenmüller[1] estimated that in the period 1966-68 slightly more than two-thirds of Botswana's imports originated in S.A. but on the other hand, in 1968 only 20 per cent of her total exports went to the Republic. She received about 53 per cent of estimated total Government revenue in 1972/73 from the common customs union. In 1970 some 70 000 Botswana were working in S.A., half of them on the mines. In that year the S.A. mines alone employed more Botswana wage-earners than the home country. The number of migrant workers from Botswana had roughly doubled since 1962. Although the migrant labour pattern was unlikely to change in the near future the diversification of Botswana's export markets was likely to intensify.

In its relations with S.A. the Government of Botswana had broader options than the other BLS countries because of its close

[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 June

[6] *Ibid.*, 18 July

[7] *Star*, 8 August

[1] *Op cit.*, p. 6-8, 26 and 166

and developing contacts with the rest of Africa. It had, down the years, introduced a policy of non-alignment combined with great efforts to loosen its dependence on S.A. It had adopted a foreign policy which largely disregarded—and even opposed—the interests or wishes of the S.A. Government.

On Friday, 1 February, Mr. Abraham Tiro, a Black student leader from South Africa[2] who had sought political asylum in Botswana was killed, very horribly, by a parcel bomb delivered to him at his place of refuge just outside Gaborone.[3] (See relevant chapter of this *Survey*.) The Office of the President of Botswana issued a strongly worded statement addressed to the Apartheid Committee condemning "the inhuman and dastardly manner in which Mr. Tiro's life was taken", pointing out that Mr. Tiro had been "an outspoken critic of a so-called South African way of life . . . and had incurred the deep displeasure of certain powerful circles in South Africa", and stating "unequivocally that this kind of terrorism" would not make it change its attitude towards refugees from oppression.[4]

The S.A. Minister of Foreign Affairs wrote to the President of Botswana and the Secretary General of the UN taking "the strongest exception to the imputations and insinuations of South African involvement in the death of Mr. Tiro", categorically denying any responsibility for his death, rejecting any accusation of complicity, and condemning this particular outrage by whomsoever committed as S.A. condemned all acts of terrorism. The Minister requested that his letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly.[5]

In July the S.A. Progressive Party leaders, Mr. C. Eglin and Mrs. H. Suzman, had what were described as amiable and wide-ranging talks with the President, Sir Seretse Khama, and the Vice-President, Dr. Quett Masire, of Botswana in Gaborone.[6]

In an interview published by the *Pretoria News* on 15 August, Sir Seretse Khama said that there was no future for White minority governments in Africa, that Botswana's disapproval of S.A.'s racial policies remained very strong and she had always recognised the legitimacy of the struggle for freedom in countries still under racial domination. Botswana, however, had no intention of severing communications with its White neighbours because this would be suicidal and she valued membership of the common customs union and was interested in remaining within the rand monetary area. The functional relationship between the two countries had not changed, they continued to co-exist and co-operate "but this is not to say we always agree on everything".

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[2] See pages 387-392 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*.
[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 February.
[4] *Ibid*.
[5] Department of Information Press Release 28/74(K), 13 February.
[6] *Star*, 16 July.

Rhodesia

In March, the Rhodesian Minister of Law and Order, Mr. D. Lardner-Burke, rejected a call for a commission of enquiry made by Mr. R. Sadomba (Ind.) into allegations that two S.A. policemen serving on the north-eastern border had cut an African baby's throat. Mr. Lardner-Burke vehemently denied the accusation but Mr. Sadomba felt that the Government had not refuted it.[1]

In May shortly before a meeting with S.A.'s Prime Minister, Mr. J. Vorster, in Pretoria the Rhodesian Premier, Mr. Ian Smith, announced that the construction of a direct rail link, reducing Rhodesia's reliance on the existing link through Botswana, between Rutenga and Beit Bridge, was being accelerated.[2]

The leader of a newly-formed, right-wing group—the Southern Africa Civilisation group—Mr. R. Stallwood was stated to be seeking White Rhodesian support for some form of association with S.A. However, Mr. Smith rejected any idea of union with the Republic.[3]

In July the S.A. Progressive Party's Mr. Rupert Lorimer had discussions in Rhodesia with Cabinet Ministers, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, leader of the African National Council, and Mr. Tim Gibbs, leader of the Rhodesian Party.[4] On his return to the Republic Mr. Lorimer told the Progressive Party's Transvaal Congress that he had been confused and depressed by what he had found in Rhodesia. He did not think that the necessary climate for a settlement existed and felt that all Rhodesia could look forward to was an escalating guerrilla war, possibly extending to urban guerrilla warfare.[5]

The S.A. Minister of Justice announced substantial increases in compensatory payment and special allowances for White and Black S.A. police volunteers for border duty in Rhodesia, effective from 1 June.[6] The Minister said: "The men who are engaged in defending our land outside our borders will be compensated to a greater extent for the patriotism displayed by them."[7] A nineteen-year-old S.A.P. constable was killed and six others were wounded in a mortar attack in north-eastern Rhodesia.[8]

In August Mr. Smith had further talks with Mr. Vorster in Cape Town, and his visit was followed by a delegation of four Rhodesian Cabinet Ministers, while the General Manager of Rhodesia Railways also visited the Republic.[9]

[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 March.
[2] *Ibid*, 29 May.
[3] *Ibid*, 3 June.
[4] *Star*, 16 July.
[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 July.
[6] *Ibid*, 2 August.
[7] *Star*, 6 August.
[8] *Star*, 19 August.
[9] *Sunday Times*, 8 September.

In a brief reference to the "Rhodesian question" in Parliament, the S.A. Minister of Foreign Affairs commented as follows:

> "I do not want to depart from the good practice we have always had here in the past, i.e. that of not discussing Rhodesia in our Parliamentary debates, but there is one matter which I nevertheless want to put right . . . I want to deny most vehemently that the South African Government is interfering in the internal affairs of Rhodesia. We have never been and will not become involved in Rhodesia's affairs, politically or otherwise. The hon. member for Sea Point (Mr. Eglin) referred . . . to 'South Africa's involvement in Rhodesia; South Africa's political commitments'. Sir, these deductions, these insinuations, are totally unfounded and very misleading. These are very dangerous deductions to make." [10]

The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa allegedly told the House Sub-Committee on Africa (U.S. Congress) that "high level" assurances had been given by S.A. that she had accepted the inevitability of Black rule in Mozambique and "may even one day accept it in Rhodesia".[11] (See S.A. Prime Minister's speech under UN in this connection.) Later press reports seemed to indicate that the S.A. Government was considering a gradual withdrawal, or at least a reduction in the numbers, of S.A. policemen serving in Rhodesia. The Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, said later: "We welcome and support any constructive attempt to bring about better understanding among the countries of Southern Africa . . . Obviously, it will be to the benefit of all if we work together in harmony . . . For that reason Rhodesia will always support any efforts to foster peaceful co-existence." [12] The Zambian Minister of Foreign Affairs said that the withdrawal of S.A. military forces from Rhodesia was one of the principal requirements for achieving detente.[13] The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr. Donald Easum, said that time was short and his Government relied on action by S.A. on the Rhodesian issue "in the next few months".[14]

Zambia

A S.A. African National Congress leader in exile, Mr. John Dube, was killed by a parcel bomb, and another A.N.C. official, Mr. Roy Kembelo, was seriously injured in Lusaka.[1] Mr. Dube's funeral was attended by Zambia's Minister of State for Defence and Army Commander.[2]

Four S.A. policemen were shot and killed and a fifth disappeared in Western Rhodesia on Friday, 8 March.[3] The

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[10] Hansard 6, col. 2594, 10 September.
[11] *Star*, 9 October.
[12] *Ibid.*, 1 November.
[13] *Sunday Tribune*, 3 November.
[14] *Star*, 4 November.
[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 February.
[2] *Ibid.*, 25 February.
[3] *Ibid.*, 11 March.

Zambian Government described an allegation that the killers had retreated to bases in Zambia as "malicious and mischievous". A spokesman said that nothing was further from the truth and the allegation could only be regarded as an exercise in self-deception. The S.A. Minister of Police described the Zambian claim as an "infamous lie". He said: "We know beyond a shadow of doubt that the terrorists fled back into Zambia."[4]

In opening the third general assembly of the All Africa Conference of Churches, President Kaunda said that the minority regime in S.A. was morally bankrupt and justice was not part of their vocabulary. African leaders and liberation movements had re-affirmed their commitment to non-racialism. They had always said that their armed struggle was not against the White man, but against injustice, oppression and exploitation, which it had been their misfortune to endure for years.[5]

Mr. Eglin and Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert of the S.A. Progressive Party had a 90 minute talk with President Kaunda and his political adviser, Mr. Mark Chona, during a visit to Lusaka in July. Mr. Eglin said that the Zambian President had told him that he adhered to the philosophy of the Lusaka Manifesto but there could be no dialogue between Zambia and South Africa under present conditions. Dr. Kaunda had also told Mr. Eglin that S.A.'s involvement in Rhodesia was a major contributory factor to the deterioration in relations between the two countries.[6]

In October a plane carrying officials of the S.A. Bantu Investment Corporation on a flight to Katima Mulilo crashed near Mongu in Zambia, killing B.I.C.'s regional manager in Eastern Caprivi and injuring the other two occupants. The survivors were apparently well cared for in Zambia and Mr. Lotter's body was returned to the S.A. authorities while the survivors were allowed to return to the Republic after treatment in the Mongu hospital.[7] (See also sections on UN and Rhodesia.)

Malawi

In July the S.A. United Party's Mr. L. G. Murray had discussions with President Banda in Malawi. Mr. Murray said on his return that the President remained firm in his dedication to dialogue between members of the O.A.U. and S.A., Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories, as a means of achieving co-operation and avoiding confrontation. President Banda had said that he welcomed dialogue with the U.P.[1]

The nine-year-old son of a Malawian diplomat in Pretoria was refused permission to board a "Whites-only" school bus. The matter was raised in Parliament by the U.P. chief spokesman on foreign affairs who asked the Prime Minister what he was prepared to do in regard to incidents of this nature. The Prime Minister said that the incident was regretted by all, and more specifically by the Department of Foreign Affairs.[2]

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[4] *Ibid.*, 12 March.
[5] *Ibid.*, 13 May.
[6] *Ibid.*, 19 July.
[7] *Rapport*, 13 October, *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 October.
[1] *Star*, 30 July.

The S.A. Minister of Foreign Affairs later told the House of Assembly that it was with the greatest appreciation that he referred to the good relations with Malawi. Fruitful contact and co-operation in many spheres were being continued.[3]

Malawi's new ambassador to S.A., Mr. Nelson Mizere, took up his post in October.[4] (See also section on mining in "employment" chapter.)

Mozambique and Angola

The successful coup in Portugal and the swift process of liberalisation in the metropolitan country and her former colonies, coupled with the rapid transfer of power to a Frelimo-dominated provisional government in Mozambique, had a profound effect upon South Africa. Reactions were somewhat confused as S.A. observed her *cordon sanitaire* being dismantled with a speed which tended to date comment and opinion rather badly within weeks or even days.

At the beginning of June various S.A. commentators pointed out that Mozambique was very dependent upon the Republic. In 1971 she had derived R107 million of her total foreign exchange earnings of R246 million from that source, comprising R50 million in harbour and railway dues, R40 million in money transmitted by Black miners working in the Republic, R11 million in exports, and R6 million from the tourist trade. In terms of the Mozambique Convention, S.A. was required to ship 40 per cent of her total rail tonnage from the Transvaal through Lourenço Marques every year and about 100 000 Black workers from Mozambique were employed on S.A. mines. The Republic was Mozambique's third largest customer and her second largest supplier of goods.[1]

There were rumours (unconfirmed) that members of the notorious DGS secret police were fleeing Mozambique for Rhodesia and South Africa, while the presence and activities of the Mozambique millionaire, Mr. Jorge Jardim, in South Africa and Malawi was also mysterious.[2]

Frelimo's Dr. Marcelino Dos Santos said that an independent Mozambique would apply all UN sanctions against "racist fascist colonialist" control in Southern Africa. This would mean stopping all indentured labour to S.A., fully supporting terrorist strike groups and sealing off Rhodesia by applying full sanctions.[3] The S.A. Minister of Foreign Affairs' response was that the Republic had no quarrel with the people of Mozambique; that hundreds of thousands of them had worked in S.A. for generations while many others were employed on the Mozambique railways and harbours which handled S.A. goods. The Republic might be temporarily inconvenienced by closure of Lourenço Marques to her goods but she had other outlets to the sea and was developing more. Whether Mozambique could stand the enormous loss of revenue was another question. S.A. had offered her co-operation in the development of Cabora Bassa but the project would not be an economic proposition if the Republic did not buy the electric power.[4]

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[2] Hansard 3, cols. 1936-9 and 1987, 2 September.
[3] Hansard 6, col. 2637, 11 September.
[4] *Star*, 9 October.
[1] *Sunday Times*, 2 June.
[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 4, 5 and 7 June and 19 July; *Star*, 18 July.
[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 June.

The Chief of the S.A. Defence Force, Admiral H. H. Biermann, said in a radio broadcast that it was to be fervently hoped that "a true democratic solution" would eventuate for Angola and Mozambique but the S.A.D.F. was prepared to meet any challenge which might emerge on these fronts.[5]

Mr. Vorster, the S.A. Prime Minister, told Parliament in August[6] that on the situation in Mozambique the S.A. Government "allowed no opportunity to pass without maintaining liaison with those with whom it had to be maintained or without asking assurances from those from whom assurance had to be asked, and I want to state here that positive replies were given to the assurance that was asked". The cornerstone of S.A. policy was non-interference in the domestic affairs of its neighbouring states, sound and stable government was of no less interest to South Africa than Mozambique itself, and the Republic would co-operate heartily with such a government in the economic sphere even if there were differences of political opinion. The only thing South Africa would do would be to defend itself with its full striking power in the event of being attacked.

On Sunday 8 September after Portugal and Frelimo had reached a settlement on the future of Mozambique in Lusaka, 6 000 Johannesburg Portuguese held a huge anti-Frelimo demonstration in front of the Civic Threatre in Johannesburg. This demonstration took place without incident and with no interference from the S.A. authorities.[7]

During September, in the wake of an abortive, bizarre, but bloody and tragic right-wing attempt at a counter-coup in Mozambique, thousands of Portuguese sought refuge in S.A. The Deputy Minister of Social Welfare, Mr. Hennie Smit, announced on 16 September that the S.A. Government had set up a 10-man committee to administer a central fund for relief to refugees.[8] It was later announced that existing rules applying to immigration would apply to Portuguese refugees, that steps were being taken to halt the flow of illegal immigrants, and that the fate of many of the refugees was being taken up with the Portuguese authorities.[9]

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[4] *Ibid.* 13 June.
[5] *Ibid.* 17 June.
[6] Hansard 4, cols. 1857-1861, 30 August.
[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 September.
[8] *Ibid.* 17 September.

The S.A. Minister of Foreign Affairs reminded the House of Assembly of the record of co-operation between Mozambique and South Africa over many generations. The Government's attitude amounted to extending friendship anew to all African states whether already independent or involved in the process of gaining independence. It was not South Africa's policy to dictate to Mozambique and Angola by whom and how they should be governed and she did not accept that an indigenous government must necessarily lead to instability or anarchy. South Africa's attitude and actions had been absolutely correct and the Minister had proof that this approach was being appreciated everywhere.[10]

At a press conference in Lourenço Marques, the head of the Frelimo delegation which had arrived to take over the Government, Mr. Joachim Chissano, said that it was "the duty of the new government to study the real relations existing between South Africa and Mozambique and to try to decide on a correct policy . . . " Frelimo had a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries and did not pretend "to be Messiahs or saviours of South Africa". When asked whether he saw the presence of S.A. troops on the Mozambique border as provocation, Mr. Chissano said that the question should be put to the S.A. Minister of Defence who should be asked what his real intentions were in this regard.[11]

The S.A. Minister of Justice, Mr. J. Kruger, banned a pro-Frelimo rally in Durban on 25 September which had been arranged by the Black South African Students' Organisation and the Black People's Convention. Meetings in Durban and at the University of the North were, nevertheless, held. Police with dogs, batons, and gas pistols dispersed crowds at these meetings. A number of people were later arrested on various charges.[12]

South Africa's approach to Angola would be the same as her approach to Mozambique but the S.A. Foreign Minister pointed out that the situation in that territory was more fluid.[13] As in the case of Mozambique, there were unconfirmed press reports that members of the DGS secret police had fled Angola for South West Africa/Namibia in the first half of the year.

Ovambo people, among them the chairman of SWAPO in Owambo, Mr. John Ya Otto, fled their "homeland" for Angola. It was alleged that agents of an unknown subversive organisation operating secretly in SWA were responsible for this wave of refugees.[14]

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[9] *Ibid.*, 18 September; *Star*, 1 and 16 October.
[10] Hansard 6, cols. 2588-2594, 10 September.
[11] *Star*, 17 September.
[12] *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 and 26 September, 2 October; *Star*, 26 September.
[13] Hansard 6, col. 2589, 10 September.
[14] *Star*, 24 and 25 June.

The Commissioner General of the Indigenous People of SWA, Mr. J. de Wet, said that it "was one of our main priorities to find these people". Owambo's Minister of Justice threatened instigators of the exodus from Owambo to Angola with merciless pursuit and punishment "with all the might of the law".

The four main churches in Owambo presented the Commissioner General with a report on the exodus and among the main causes which they advanced was the fact that: "The oppressive powers of the police have caused grievance among Ovambos and all South West African people. Those who oppose the inhuman constitution are being flogged, tortured with electric shocks, detained for long periods without trial and the conditions of imprisonment are inhumane." [15]

The S.A. Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, said of the Ovambo exodus:

> "It is a pity that young people were tempted into leaving Owambo. That they were tempted is clear, even at this early stage. The young people were given the impression that South-West would be taken over by the UN in the very immediate future, and that a certain Mr. MacBride had been charged with creating machinery which would take care of the government of Owambo after the take-over. It is for that purpose that he ostensibly needs people now whom he will train in an institute or whatever in Lusaka in order to control and to administer South-West then. These people will arrive there and find out that they are under no circumstances going to be trained in that regard . . . these young people will bitterly regret their having done this for . . . they did not leave in order to receive training as terrorists or whatever; they left under the false pretence that they were going to the universities and that they were going to be trained to be the future staff of the independent Namibia when UN takes over there . . . in spite of all these events . . . there is absolutely no cause for panic in any respect . . ." [16]

The Chief Minister of Owambo, Chief Filemon Elifas, said, later, that people who had fled Owambo were welcome to return and participate in elections in 1975. Chief Elifas also said that the reconstituted Legislative Council would strive to redraw the border with Angola since it was an unnatural border which divided the people.[17]

Nigeria

During a visit which they paid to Lagos, the S.A. Progressive Party's Mr. Colin Eglin and Dr. F. van Zyl Slabbert were told by Nigeria's Head of State, General Gowon: "We cannot fraternise with those human beings known to be advocates and apostles of apartheid." However, if S.A. renounced apartheid they would be embraced by the rest of Africa.[18]

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[15] *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 August.
[16] Hansard 5, cols. 1991-1994, 2 September.
[17] *Star*, 17 October.
[18] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 July.

Seychelles

The Seychelles Chief Minister announced in June that all trade ties between his country and S.A. would be severed.[19]

EUROPE

United Kingdom

In 1973 South African exports to Britain amounted to R697 400 000 (an increase over 1972 of 31%) while imports from Britain were worth R629 900 000 (an increase over 1972 of 7%) giving a S.A. surplus of R67 500 000.[1]

The report of the British Trades Union Congress mission to South Africa was published in January (see relevant section of this *Survey*).[2]

At a press conference in February the then Opposition Labour Party Leader, Mr. Harold Wilson, pledged material assistance for liberation movements in Southern Africa as part of the Labour Party's manifesto for the forthcoming elections.[3]

On the other hand, Mr. Heath, the Prime Minister, said the Conservatives did not believe in using force to bring about change.[4]

Following its election victory in March the Labour Government reaffirmed its stand against racial discrimination, but omitted mention of its commitment to disengagement from South Africa and support for African liberation movements in its policy statement.[5]

The British government was urged by the president of the Society of British Aerospace Companies to drop its ban on arms sales to South Africa, which it was estimated, could lose the U.K. R750 million-worth of sales over the following five years [6], and lead to the loss of about 25 000 jobs in the British arms industry.[7] The British Government later revoked the export licence for a remaining Westland Wasp Helicopter on order from South Africa[8], creating fierce controversy in the Commons.[9]

Following this decision it was announced by the Junior Foreign Office Minister, Miss Joan Lestor, that the entire question of British relations with South Africa was under review [10], but rumours that the Simonstown Agreement was about to be cancelled [11], were denied by the Prime Minister, Mr. Wilson, who stated that Britain had never called the agreement, which retained its value, into question.[12]

[19] *Ibid.*, 18 June.
[1] *Commerce and Industry*, vol. XXXII (12), August 1974.
[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 January.
[3] *Star*, 13 February.
[4] *Ibid.*, 20 February.
[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 March.
[6] *Ibid.*, 30 March.
[7] *Star*, 1 April.
[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 April.
[9] *Star*, 22 April.
[10] *Ibid.*, 23 April.
[11] *Sunday Express*, 2 June.
[12] *Star*, 7 June.

Despite cancelled visits by the Royal yacht Britannia [13] and the frigate H.M.S. Leopard [14], two Royal Navy squadrons visited Table Bay and Simonstown in August and October and joint training exercises were carried out.[15] In response to criticism of the Royal Navy's association with South Africa during manoeuvres, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. James Callaghan said: "Britain will continue to have businesslike dealings with South Africa as we do with every country regardless of colour, race or ideology." [16] He also said he believed the Naval visit had been manipulated by the South Africans as "a badge of respectability and of approval of their policies",[17] and went on to say that the British Government would look again at the Simonstown Agreement. If it represented an important security interest, it would be maintained. However, if it was only of marginal military value because it was politically damaging it would be ended or allowed to wither.[18] Later press reports had it that there was a great deal of dissension within the British Labour Party about the Simonstown Agreement.

The announcement by Miss Joan Lestor that the British Government's relationship with South Africa was under review [19] and the release of statistics by the Department of Trade showing South Africa's declining importance as a trading partner [20] called forth widespread comment in South Africa and Britain [21] on the future of trade between the two countries.

Britain contributed R105 000 to the United Nations Training Programme for Southern Africa. An amount of R15 000 given earlier to the UN Fund for Namibia marked a change in policy under the Labour government, but was made "without prejudice" to the policy review on Southern Africa.[22]

Britain's ambassador at the UN, Mr. Ivor Richard, criticised South Africa's refusal to apply sanctions against Rhodesia.[23]

Considerable interest was shown in the activities in Britain of the "Club of Ten", an anonymous group of businessmen pledged to conduct publicity campaigns abroad favourable to South Africa, aimed at strengthening investment and trade ties between South Africa and foreign countries.[24] The Club of Ten supplied the Foreign Office with the names of four of its chief contributors of funds [25], but former judge Geraid Sparrow [26] and Mr. Nichas of S.A.[27] were the only people publicly associated with the group.

[13] *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 April.
[14] *Ibid*, 17 May.
[15] *Star*, 28 August; *Sunday Times*, 20 October.
[16] *Ibid*, 26 October.
[17] *Ibid*., see also *Sunday Express*, 27 October.
[18] *Star*, 26 October; see also *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 October.
[19] *Star*, 23 May; *Sunday Tribune*, 30 June.
[20] *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 June.
[21] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 and 27 June.
[22] *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 September.
[23] *Star*, 16 October.
[24] *Sunday Times*, 23 June; *Star*, 17 June.
[25] *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 June.
[26] *Sunday Express*, 30 June.
[27] *Star*, 23 August; *Rapport*, 25 August.

It was announced in February [28] that new plans were being formulated for one of the biggest co-ordinated campaigns against South African trade, investment and immigration yet mounted by the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

A resolution before the British Council of Churches called for a concentrated drive against emigration to South Africa.[29] The British Methodist Church strongly reaffirmed its policy of financial support for the World Council of Churches Programme to Combat Racism at its conference in July.[30]

France

In 1973 the value of goods exported to France increased by 21% from R57 200 000 to R69 100 000, while French imports grew by 26% from R99 400 000 to R125 300 000 giving a South African deficit of R56 200 000.[1]

Official reaction in South Africa to the election victory of Mr. Valery Giscard d'Estaing was one of relief, congratulations being offered by the Prime Minister and State President.[2]

It appeared that a liberal diplomatic standpoint was to be adopted by Mr. d'Estaing [3] who had been subjected to pressure from the left [4] and from Algeria, a prime supplier of oil and natural gas to stop the swing towards South Africa.[5] There was speculation that France's reappraisal of arms sales to the Middle East could mean a reconsideration of arrangements with other sensitive areas such as South Africa.[6]

However, it appeared that France was concerned with security of the Cape sea-route and several warships were expected to call at the Cape in November and December.[7]

It also appeared that trade ties with South Africa were increasing.[8]

In October Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, visited France and had talks with the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Bernard Destrameau.[9] Chief Buthelezi called for a strengthening of ties between France and Black people in South Africa.[10]

The Netherlands

South African exports to the Netherlands increased by 8% from R55 700 000 to R60 100 000 in 1973, while imports from that country increased by 11% from R62 500 000 to R69 300 000, leaving a trade balance unfavourable to South Africa of R9 200 000.[1]

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[28] *Star*, 20 February.

[29] *Star*, 16 April.

[30] *Star*, 2 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 July.

[1] *Commerce and Industry*, vol. XXXII (12), August 1974.

[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 and 25 May.

[3] *Star*, 15 May.

[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 May.

[5] *Star*, 9 July.

[6] *Star*, 13 August.

[7] *Sunday Times*, 20 October; *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 October; *Star*, 15 October.

[8] *Star*, 28 June; *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 August and 6 September.

[9] *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 October.

[10] *Ibid.*, 28 October.

In February, claims by the Outspan boycotters of success in their campaign were rejected by the chairman of the Citrus Board.[2]

In March South Africa's apartheid policies were discussed at the World Synod of the Dutch Reformed Churches [3], where it was announced that the Dutch Council of Churches had been advised to raise about R70 000 for the Special Fund to Combat Racism [4]. It was suggested by Radio Netherlands that the Dutch Reformed Churches in Holland and South Africa break ties rather than continue "their mostly fruitless discussions".[5]

Following a visit by Professor Klaas Runia, adviser at the Lunteren synod which decided to back the WCC fund to Combat Racism, it appeared that the rift between the South African and Dutch churches could be healed.[6] However, in October the general synod of the South African NGK voted overwhelmingly in favour of a resolution to break all links with the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands unless they retracted their decision to support the WCC Special Fund to Combat Racism.[7]

Federal Republic of Germany

South Africa's exports to West Germany increased by 40 per cent, from R132 700 000 to R186 200 000, in 1973, while imports from that country increased by 47% from R413 100 000 to R606 800 000 leaving a South African deficit of R420 600 000.[1]

The training ship Deutschland made a short stop in Cape Town on its round-the-world trip.[2]

The West German Government promised aid to South West African refugees in Zambia and Botswana according to Chief Clemens Kapuuo, vice chairman of the National Convention, an all-Black political coalition which opposes the South African Government's plans for the territory.[3]

Mrs. Lenelotte van Bothmer, a member of the German Parliament, objected to the way she figured in the Schlebusch Commission report, in which she was described as actively anti-South African [4] (see relevant section of this *Survey*).

A German student, Mr. Frank Hirtz, was deported from South Africa following the controversial visit of a group of German and Austrian exchange students. It was alleged that he told them their presence in South Africa was bolstering Apartheid.[5]

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[1] *Commerce and Industry*, vol. XXXII (12), August 1974
[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 February
[3] *Star*, 27 March
[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 March
[5] *Star*, 4 April
[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 April
[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 October
[1] *Commerce and Industry*, vol. XXXII (12) August 1974
[2] *S.A. Digest*, 26 April
[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 June
[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 September
[5] *Star*, 8 and 9 October

Portugal

Separate trade figures for Portugal are not available. Following the coup of April 25, the South African Government gave immediate recognition to the new Government in Lisbon.[1]

Speaking in the House of Assembly, the Foreign Minister, Dr. Muller, said: "The attitude adopted towards us by the new Portuguese Government in Lisbon has always been and still is most courteous and correct."[2] He went on to say that South Africa would have to accept that Portugal's attitude to her at the United Nations would undergo a transformation as a result of the change in Government.

Speaking at the United Nations, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Soares, explained his government's change in attitude towards South Africa.[3] (See section of this *Survey* on Africa and Mozambique.)

Norway

It was reported in March that Norway was to provide humanitarian aid worth more than R1 500 000 to African nationalist movements during the year.[1]

In May Norway's Foreign Affairs Department strenuously denied allegations that NATO was planning to establish defence bases in Southern Africa.[2]

Sweden

In August the Swedish Trade Minister, Mr. Kjell-Olof Feldt, disclosed that his government had refrained from banning Swedish investments because it knew that such an "isolated" step would not shake the S.A. economy.[3] (See section on Foreign Investment.)

Following a controversy involving the S.A. Government and Swedish Television over an alleged massacre at Katima Mulilo in SWA (see relevant section of *Survey*) a Swedish author and documentary film maker, Mr. Lars Persson, claimed that Swedish Television had been misled over the issue.[4]

Trade with other European Countries

Trade with certain other European countries in 1973 is tabulated below[1]:

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[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 April.
[2] Hansard 6 col. 2589, 10 September.
[3] *Star*, 24 September.
[1] *Natal Mercury*, 9 March.
[2] *Star*, 24 May.
[3] *Star*, 12 August.
[4] *Star*, 8 August. *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 August.
[1] *Commerce and Industry*, vol. XXXII (12), August 1974. (*Note*: Figures given in the 1972 *Survey* for various other European countries had not become available when this *Survey* went to press.)

	Italy *R*	*Belgium* *R*
Imports	120 900 000	54 700 000
Exports	79 800 000	119 200 000
	−41 100 000	+64 500 000

AUSTRALASIA

Australia

Relations between South Africa and Australia were further strained following a statement by Mr. Gough Whitlam, the Australian Prime Minister, on British television that the leaders of South Africa and Rhodesia were "as bad as Hitler".[1]

Renewed threats were made by the Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Whitlam, to end flights by the national airline, Quantas, to South Africa.[2]

When the Military Attaché for South Africa in Canberra, Brigadier H. C. van Dyk, retired early it was announced by the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, that he would not be replaced.[3]

In September the Australian Government ended all *official* promotion of trade and investment with South Africa.[4]

In its proposed budget, the Foreign Affairs Department under Senator Willesee made allowance for contributions to Black African liberation movements.[5]

Earlier in the year Australia confirmed in a letter to the UN Secretary General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, that it would support international economic sanctions against South Africa, provided the Republic's other trading partners did the same.[6]

Following his arrival in Australia banned former NUSAS leader Mr. Neville Curtis was engaged by a national anti-apartheid organisation which aims at breaking Australian diplomatic and economic ties with South Africa.[7] (See relevant section of this *Survey*.)

A Foreign Affairs Department official said Australia would support any Security Council resolution calling for S.A.'s expulsion from the UN.[8]

New Zealand

A visit by Tanzania's President Nyerere to New Zealand was seen by observers as marking a shift by the then Prime Minister, Mr.

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[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 December, 1973.
[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 June.
[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 August.
[4] *Star*, 24 September.
[5] *Star*, 14 August.
[6] *Star*, 19 September.
[7] *Sunday Tribune*, 20 October.
[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 October.

Norman Kirk, towards the Third World and away from ties with South Africa.[9]

THE MIDDLE EAST

Israel

Israel upgraded its representation in Pretoria to Ambassadorial level in March.[1]

During a visit to South Africa in September, former Israeli Defence Minister, General Moshe Dayan, praised South African troops and military installations.[2]

A marked increase in trade as well as in scientific exchanges with Israel was reported by Israel's largest circulation newspaper, *Maariv*.[3]

Jordan

Allegations in the British Press [1] had it that Jordan had been engaged in a secret arms deal with South Africa.[2] The disclosures created tension between Jordan and Britain [3], and brought forth a strong reaction from the OAU to the Arab League.[4]

Lebanon

In February the Lebanese Government broke off diplomatic ties with South Africa and Portugal.[5]

Other Arab States

It was reported in June that South Africa was making a serious attempt to forge strong relationships with some of the Arab states, and that the Ambassador in London, Dr. Carel de Wet, had been to Saudi Arabia on a private visit [6]. He was also alleged to have visited Iran, Bahrain and Lebanon.[7]

It was decided in June at a meeting of Ministers of Arab oil-producing countries that the oil embargo on Rhodesia, South Africa, and Portugal would remain in force.[8]

ASIA

Japan

South African exports to Japan declined by 5% from R259 500 000 to R245 800 000 in 1973, while imports from that country increased by 43% from R267 000 000 to R381 200 000, giving a South African deficit of R135 400 000.[1]

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[9] *Star*, 11 March.
[1] *Star*, 11 March.
[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 September.
[3] *Ibid*, 16 October.
[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 September.
[2] *Ibid*, 21 September.
[3] *Star*, 10 September.
[4] *Ibid*., 23 September.
[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 February.
[6] *Sunday Express*, 2 June.
[7] *Sunday Times*, 30 June.
[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 June.

Following reports in March[2] and April[3] that a policy decision on trade was expected shortly, the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Masayoshi Ohira, stated that policy so far had been to continue an economic exchange in the form of trade, but not to permit investment.[4] Policy was summed up by one official as "continued separation of trade and politics".[5]

It was announced in June that Japan had decided to refuse to issue visas to South Africans for sporting, cultural or educational visits.[6] In July visas were refused to a delegation from the South African Association of University Women wanting to attend a conference of the International Federation of University Women in Kyoto.[7]

In July the Ministry of International Trade and Industry announced a tightening of controls over exports to South Africa and Mozambique, to block a suspected flow of goods into Rhodesia,[8] and, in September, further warnings against trade with Rhodesia were issued.[9]

Following allegations by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Japan [10] that local banks and business houses had extended substantial loans to the South African Government, a London-based Japanese bank said it would immediately halt loans to the South African Government and private interests in that country.[11]

The Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid said that he anticipated increasing Japanese co-operation in the fight against apartheid.[12] The same committee was informed by the Japanese Ambassador to the UN, Mr. Shizuo Saito, that Japan had no investment in South Africa, which she excluded from her policy of promoting trade and economic relations with all other countries.[13]

A Japanese visitor to South Africa, Mrs. Yoko Kitazawa, cut short her stay because she was questioned by security branch police after a visit to the Black South African Students' Organisation.[14] Mrs. Kitazawa later gave evidence to the UN Committee on Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories on Japan's "involvement" with S.A.[15]

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[1] *Commerce and Industry*, vol. XXXII (12), August 1974.
[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 March.
[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 April.
[4] *Star*, 15 April.
[5] *Star*, 2 May.
[6] *Ibid.*, 13 June.
[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 July.
[8] *Star*, 1 July.
[9] *Ibid.*, 11 September.
[10] *Ibid.*, 18 July.
[11] *Ibid.*, 11 September.
[12] *Ibid.*, 12 September.
[13] *Ibid.*, 17 September.
[14] *Ibid.*, 18 September.
[15] *Ibid.*, 1 November.

India

In April the Indian government vetoed the proposed visit to S.A. by three eminent Indian journalists.[1]

The All-Indian Lawn Tennis Association refused to play South Africa in the final of the Davis Cup. Mr. Shahid Ali Khan, joint Secretary at the Ministry of Education, with responsibility for sport, said: "The Indian Government has a very clear policy on this matter. We shall not play South Africa in the Davis Cup tennis final, even on neutral ground." [2] (See the relevant section of this *Survey*.)

Iran

The Shah of Iran stated in an interview published in *Jeune Afrique* that he considered Iran's links with South Africa in the long-term interests of his country, and they could not be sacrificed because of Black Africa's opposition to Pretoria.[1]

On a visit to S.A., the President of the Iranian Senate, Senator Shariff Imani, said that Iran would never impose oil embargoes on South Africa while relations between the two countries remained as good as they were.[2]

Following reports of a visit by the former S.A. Minister of Mines and Health, Dr. Carel de Wet, to several Middle-East countries [3] it was announced in Paris by the Minister of Economic Affairs, Senator Owen Horwood, that South Africa and Iran would "systematically and substantially" strengthen their economic ties.[4] On his return to London he stated that firm understanding had been reached with Iran in the fields of nuclear energy, petroleum, mining and trade.[5]

Trade between Iran and South Africa is now worth approximately R100 million per year. In an interview, the retiring Consul General for Iran said that Iran's relationships with South Africa had not affected its ties with Black Africa.[6]

Hong Kong

In June a trade emissary representing Hong Kong arrived on a mission to promote trade with South Africa.[7]

AMERICA

The United States

In 1973 South African exports to the U.S. rose by 11% from R147 100 000 to R162 900 000 while imports from that country rose by 14% from R466 500 000 to R529 800 000, giving South Africa an unfavourable trade balance of R366 900 000.[1]

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[1] *Star*, 17 April.
[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 October.
[1] *Star*, 11 April.
[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 May.
[3] *Sunday Times*, 30 June.
[4] *Ibid.*, 30 June.
[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 July.
[6] *Star*, 21 August.
[7] *Sunday Times*, 2 June.

It was reported in April that despite the mounting attack against American trade links with South Africa, the State of New York was actively trying to promote exports through an advertising campaign.[2]

In July the New York City Human Rights Commission ordered the *New York Times* to stop publishing advertisements for jobs in South Africa.[3]

American mineworkers opposed the importation of coal from S.A. and picketed, for a time, the port of Mobile, Alabama to prevent its unloading.[4] The mineworkers also sought a Federal Court injunction banning all imports of coal until the U.S. Commissioner of Customs ruled whether these would violate the Tariff Act of 1930 which prohibits the importation of goods produced by "indentured labour under penal sanctions".[5]

Incidents involving Mr. Richard Saunders, an American photojournalist, and his wife[6] drew official protests from U.S. Ambassador, Mr. John Hurd, about treatment accorded the couple during their visit to South Africa.[7]

Mr. James Baker, the first Black American to serve as a diplomat in South Africa, left the country in July after a 17 month stay.[8]

The Cape Leader of the National Party, Mr. P. W. Botha, unequivocally withdrew in July all the allegations he had made in September 1973 against the United States South Africa Leader Exchange Programme (USSALEP).[9]

The Prime Minister, Mr. John Vorster, appeared on American television in April in an interesting interview conducted by the columnist William Buckley.[10]

Following visits to the United States by the Minister of Information, Dr. Connie Mulder, in January[11] and Admiral Hugo Biermann, Chief of the Defence Force, in May [12] during which informal contacts were made with Americans at the highest level [13], it emerged that S.A. had engaged agents in America to lobby for a change in American policy on South Africa.[14]

In October the Foreign Minister, Dr. Muller, visited Washington, and the Secretary for Information, Dr. Eschel Rhoodie, talked with a number of key Americans.[15]

[1] *Commerce and Industry*, vol. XXXII (12), August 1974.
[2] *Star*, 17 April.
[3] *Star*, 24 July.
[4] *Star*, 27 August.
[5] *Financial Mail*, 13 September. (For repeal of relevant S.A. Legislation see section on Employment.)
[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 March.
[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 and 25 March.
[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 July.
[9] *Sunday Times*, 7 July.
[10] *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 April.
[11] *Pretoria News*, 26 January.
[12] *Sunday Tribune*, 12 May.
[13] *Sunday Times*, 19 May.
[14] *Star*, 14 May; *Sunday Times*, 8 September.
[15] *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 October.

It was reported that militant S.A. exiles were to meet Senator Edward Kennedy and other American leaders who had held talks with the visiting South Africans.[16]

The outgoing American Secretary of State for Africa, Mr. David Newsom, said in January that continuing United States-South Africa contact had helped to bring about change in South Africa during the last four years.[17]

Reports emanating from Washington hinted that a friendlier U.S. stand on S.A. was likely to emerge in the future, particularly in the light of the Portuguese coup and the increasing strategic and economic importance of the Indian Ocean-South Atlantic area.[18]

President Gerald Ford agreed to review American policies on Africa and Southern Africa in response to calls from the "Black Caucus" in Congress.[19]

Following reports that two contradictory versions of American policy on South Africa were in circulation [20] and that officials in the Africa Bureau of the State Department had succeeded in "gutting" the policy of communication with South Africa laid down in 1970 by President Nixon [21], the entire contents of a top secret memorandum on American policy towards S.A. became public.[22]

The document, known as National Security Study Memorandum 39 (NSSM 39), listed the following American objectives [23]:

- To improve U.S. standing in Black Africa and internationally on the race issue.
- To minimise the likelihood of escalation of violence in the area and the risk of U.S. involvement.
- To minimise the opportunities available to the USSR and Communist China of exploiting the racial issue in the region for propaganda advantage and to gain political influence with Black governments and liberation movements.
- To encourage moderation of the current rigid racial and colonial policies of the White regimes.
- To protect economic, scientific and strategic interests and opportunities in the region, including the orderly marketing of South Africa's gold production.

Foreign policy was thus aimed at balancing economic, scientific and strategic interests in the White States with political interests involving dissociation of the U.S. from the White minority regimes and their repressive racial policies.[24]

There were allegations that there had been a deliberate "tilt" in favour of White South African interests since 1970 with the choice of policy option No. 2 from NSSM 39, dubbed "Tarbaby" by its opponents.[25] This was denied by the State Department.

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[16] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 October.
[17] *Ibid.*, 5 January
[18] *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 June; *Star*, 18 July; *Eastern Province Herald*, 6 August.
[19] *Natal Mercury*, 24 August.
[20] *Star*, 17 September.
[21] *Ibid.*, 14 September.
[22] *Ibid.*, and *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 October.
[23] *Ibid.*, 22 October.
[24] *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 October.
[25] *Sunday Times*, 22 September.

Reports from Washington claimed that the South African Government, in ignoring reports about American policy, had lost its best opportunity in twenty-five years of breaking out of its tightening isolation.[26]

At the time of going to press the American Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Donald Easum, was touring Southern and Central African capitals, amid reports of a new effort by the U.S. to move the Black and White states of Southern Africa away from confrontation and towards peaceful negotiation.[27]

Canada

Separate 1973 trade figures for Canada had not become available when this *Survey* went to press.

In March the Canadian Government shelved a programme for "humanitarian aid" to liberation movements in Southern Africa.[1]

Paraguay

President Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay visited the Republic in April.[1] Two agreements, one concerning cultural exchanges and scientific and technological co-operation, and the other relating to economic co-operation and investment were signed by the two countries.[2]

The South African government invoked powers acquired under the 1974 Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act to prevent all gatherings in protest against President Stroessner's visit.[3]

Brazil

A direct regular shipping service between Brazil and South Africa was introduced in May.[4]

Cuba

Cuban delegates attended the Sugar Congress held in Durban in June.[5]

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[26] *Star*, 24 October.

[27] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 October; *Sunday Tribune*, 27 October.

[1] *Star*, 1 March.

[1] *Sunday Times*, 24 March.

[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 April.

[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 April.

[4] *S.A. Digest*, 26 April.

[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 June.

SERVICES AND AMENITIES FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN URBAN AREAS

ABOLITION OF CERTAIN RACIAL RESTRICTIONS IN THE USE OF PUBLIC AMENITIES

Action taken in Johannesburg

Towards the end of 1973 the Johannesburg City Council set up *ad hoc* committees to investigate "petty apartheid" in its area of control. Eight White United Party councillors [1] held discussions in turn, with three representatives of each of the three Black communities.

The chairman of the city's management committee, Mr. J. F. Oberholzer, M.P.C., commented during the progress of these discussions,[2] "We had not realized previously the deepness of the hurt petty apartheid has caused and how Black people over the years have had to school themselves to accept without protest offences to their dignity inflicted in the name of what is called the S.A. way of life".

On 30 January the City Council resolved to take certain actions, immediately or in the near future, which lay within its own powers under the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953. Signs indicating "White" or "Non-White" on benches in parks would be removed. Museums and the art gallery would be open unrestrictedly to all races (previously, certain periods had been set aside for visits by Blacks). Blacks would be able to make use of municipal libraries in the city as well as the libraries for their own groups in the various townships. Separate queues at places where municipal accounts were paid or licences issued would be abolished. Employment opportunities in the municipal service for Blacks, e.g. as traffic officers, would be improved.

The Council would also urge private persons and organizations to improve conditions, for instance the provision of more and better restaurants for Blacks in the city centre, and the abolition of racial restrictions on the use of lifts. Trade unions would be urged to make wider employment opportunities available to Coloured and Indians. Deputations would be sent to relevant Government departments to press for better school education and artisan training for Blacks, the provision of playing fields according to a common formula at schools for all groups, and home ownership for Africans.

The organizers of the Rand Easter Show would be asked to re-apply for a permit to open the show to people of all races for the whole duration of this event. (The Witwatersrand Agricultural Society has repeatedly done this. In 1974 it was permitted by the

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[1] National Party representatives on the Council declined to serve on the committees. The only Progressive Party councillor was not invited.

[2] *Sunday Times*, 25 November 1973.

Government to admit persons of all racial groups on five of the thirteen days, instead of four, as previously.)

Action in other towns

During December 1973 the Pietermaritzburg City Council decided to remove signs reserving benches in municipal gardens for persons of different racial groups, and to improve facilities for Blacks to attend performances at the City Hall. The multi-racial Aurora Cricket Club would continue to be allowed to use playing fields under the Council's control.[3]

The Mayor of Cape Town said [4] that in municipal buildings in that city, certain government buildings, and many private premises all apartheid notices not required by law had already been removed. He was prepared to intervene personally if unnecessary such notices were still being displayed by private firms.

In terms of a 70-year-old by-law, Blacks had been excluded from parks in Pretoria. During the S.A. Games held during 1973, however,[5] the Black competitors were accommodated in a new hotel in the city which adjoins one of the central parks. In order to avoid any embarrassing incidents the by-law was suspended, and early in 1974 it was repealed by the Administrator-in-Executive at the request of a majority of members of the City Council. Municipal regulations containing restrictions on the admission of Blacks to museums and art galleries were relaxed. The City Council approved the opening of a restaurant for Africans near the central Church Square. An official of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development vetoed this plan on the ground that it was not departmental policy to allow the congregation of Blacks in central city areas. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration was away at the time, but when an appeal reached him he reversed the official's decision.[6] His general policy is described later.

The Durban City Council has decided to abolish racial discrimination in queues at rates and licensing offices and in the use of benches in public parks.[7]

In Port Elizabeth and a number of other cities, notably in the Cape, discriminatory signs have existed only where these are required by the Government or Provincial Administrations (e.g. on beaches and in public transport vehicles).

Statements by the Prime Minister and the Deputy Minister

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 8 February,[8] the Prime Minister pointed out that the use of a number of facilities was subject to permit control by the Ministers concerned, in terms of the Group Areas Act. This applied, for example, to the use of restaurants, swimming baths, and public vehicles, and the admission of racially disqualified persons to theatres, shows, or public halls. The provision of separate amenities for the various groups, wherever this was practicable or desirable, prevented friction. Nevertheless, with due regard to the various customs and conduct of the various Black groups, everybody should be able to move about without hindrance and friction to do business, to relax, and to purchase and consume refreshments during working days. In regard to refreshments, "needs increased substantially during recent years, and the Government, in collaboration with local authorities and other bodies, has been engaged for a considerable time in making provision for workers in the White area as well as for visitors and travellers".

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[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 December 1973.
[4] *Cape Times*, 16 January.
[5] See 1973 *Survey*, page 368.
[6] Various newspapers of 1-6 February.
[7] *Star*, 10 September.
[8] Hansard 1 Question cols. 24-6.

In regard to amenities which were controlled by local authorities, the Prime Minister stated, "The Government will constantly keep an eye on the position and, should city councils' intended steps cause friction or disturb the peace, the Government will not hesitate to intervene and to rectify the situation".

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. Punt Janson, has made various statements on this whole question.[*] The Government, he said, considered that various amenities should be provided for Blacks working in White areas, but did not agree that all facilities should be thrown open for general use. It was accepted that Black workers should have somewhere to consume refreshments other than on sidewalks. There should be restaurants and toilet facilities for them in city centres and at dispersed points in the suburbs. Hotels and restaurants should be available to Black people travelling along national roads. His department had negotiated with certain city councils and Bantu Affairs Administration Boards in regard to the provision of facilities for refreshments and recreation. Positive suggestions to local authorities had been made, too, by the Administrators-in-Executive-Committee.

Opening of the 1820 Settlers' Monument

A number of Africans, Indians, and Coloured persons accepted invitations to attend ceremonies arranged at the opening of the 1820 Settlers' Monument in Grahamstown during July. With Government permission they were allowed to stay in local hotels, to be served with liquor, and to attend all the functions that were held.

BLACK GUESTS AT HOTELS AND LICENSED RESTAURANTS

The Liquor Act of 1928 as amended contained certain restrictions on the serving of liquor to Africans, Asians, and

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[*] *Star*, 1 January, *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 February and 15 March; Assembly, 19 February, Hansard 3 cols. 106-7.

Coloured persons in hotels and licensed restaurants; but stated that such restrictions would not apply to any person who was duly accredited to the Republic by the government of any other state, or to any member of his family living with him, or to such members of his staff as were not domiciled within the Republic.

In terms of an Amendment Bill published in 1974, the restrictions will not apply, either, to any person who holds a temporary permit issued to him under the Aliens Act of 1937, or who is permitted to enter the Republic without holding any permit.

This Bill was referred to a Parliamentary Select Committee which was directed to investigate, too, the question of hotel accommodation for Blacks from South Africa as well as for Black visitors from other countries.

Interim arrangements, pending the report of this committee, were announced by the Secretary for Justice during August.[10]

Previously, there were formalities which had to be complied with before any Black person (whether an alien or a South African) could be accommodated in an hotel in a "White" area. The hotelier had to write in advance to the Department of Justice (or telephone in a case of emergency), giving the intended guest's name and address and the reason for his proposed stay, and requesting permission to accommodate him, and (should the person concerned so desire) also requesting permission for him to have his meals in a public room and to be served with liquor. In the case of an alien, his passport number and point of entry into the Republic had to be stated.

This is still the case so far as Black South Africans are concerned, but most of the formalities have been dispensed with so far as aliens are concerned. A Black person who visits the Republic and is in possession of a temporary permit issued under the Aliens Act, or has been allowed to enter the country without a permit, can make full use of all the services provided at any hotel, on the same basis as Whites may do. The hotel does not have to obtain prior permission. The manager must, however, inform the National Liquor Board at the Department of Justice of the guest's personal particulars, passport number, and point of entry into the Republic.

The relevant directive from the Secretary for Justice stated that the relaxation of the provisions of the Liquor Act in so far as aliens were concerned applied also in the case of liquor licensed clubs and restaurants and other premises in respect of which on-consumption licences were held. But the directive continued, "In the case of clubs, restaurants, and other premises which are affected by Proclamation R228 dated 5 October 1973,[11] permits in terms of Group Areas legislation must, however, be obtained before Non-Whites are admitted". This, presumably, means that in controlled areas or White group areas a permit is necessary before a Black South African can be served with a meal in a restaurant or tearoom if the use of seating accommodation is involved, or before he can be admitted to a club (save as a representative or guest of the State, a provincial administration, a local authority, or a statutory body). And it remains an offence for anyone except a licensed dealer or, in certain circumstances an employer, to supply liquor to an African.

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[10] *Sunday Express*, 10 August.
[11] See 1973 *Survey*, page 113.

In a memorandum sent to the Parliamentary Select Committee,[12] the Institute of Race Relations submitted that the proposed Liquor Amendment Bill discriminated against local Africans, Asians, and Coloured people, including homeland citizens. The Institute recommended that, as a first step, provision should be made in the Bill for the proprietor of any licensed hotel, restaurant, or café to use his own discretion as to whether or not to admit, serve, or accommodate any individual, of whatever race or colour. The Institute also recommended the rescinding of the provision of the Liquor Act which prohibits the serving of liquor to African guests in private residences.

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[12] RR 12/74

GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING COLOURED, ASIAN, AND WHITE POPULATION GROUPS

PERSONS REQUIRED TO MOVE IN TERMS OF THE GROUP AREAS ACT

In the Assembly on 18 February [1] the Minister of Community Development said that the following numbers of families had become disqualified under the Group Areas Act to remain in their previous homes:

Whites	1 648
Coloured	73 758
Indians	38 678
Chinese	1 233

Of these, the following numbers of families had been resettled in group areas by the end of 1973:

Whites	1 549
Coloured	49 145
Indians	29 230
Chinese	71

On 12 February the Minister stated [2] that 5 031 Indian traders had thus far become disqualified to remain in their previous premises. Of these, 4 239 had still to be resettled.

SHORTAGE AND PROVISION OF HOUSING

Answering a series of questions on 20 February,[3] the Minister said that his department had taken great pains to arrive at reliable estimates of the housing shortage as at the end of 1973. The dwelling units then needed were:

	Whites	*Coloured*	*Asians*
Transvaal	1 700	7 000	2 300
Cape	2 600	50 000	1 700
Natal	1 200	4 600	12 600
Free State	600	800	—
	6 100	62 400	16 600

The dwelling units made availabe for occupation during 1973 by the Department and by local authorities were:

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[1] Hansard 3 cols 104. On 13 August the Minister gave slightly different figures (Hansard 2 col. 50).

[2] Hansard 2 col. 71.

[3] Hansard 3 col. 179.

	Whites	*Coloured*	*Asians*
Department	998	794	579
Local authorities	4 278	11 235	4 434
	5 276	12 029	5 013

In the course of the next five years, the Minister said, his department and local authorities planned to build between 10 000 and 12 000 dwellings each year for Coloured people in the Cape Province alone. The building programme for Indians in the Durban complex would also be expedited.

Asked for further details, the Minister gave the following statistics relating to dwellings constructed in the 1973-4 fiscal year by local and other authorities with financial aid from the State:[4]

	Whites	*Coloured*	*Asians*
Economic houses	2 326	2 870	2 816
Sub-economic houses	554	3 421	666
Economic flats	1 137	2 602	120
Sub-economic flats	425	1 657	38
	4 442	10 550	3 640

The Minister of Statistics gave figures indicating the dwelling units constructed by the private sector during 1973 in the 18 principal urban areas, 51 areas surrounding these, and 59 other towns.[5]

	Whites	*Coloured*	*Asians*
Houses	20 641	893	755
Flats	6 935	12	564

Statistics in respect of the six main metropolitan areas were given by the responsible Ministers on 21 and 26 February.[6]

DEPRECIATION AND APPRECIATION CONTRIBUTIONS

The Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly on 21 February [7] that, by the end of 1973, the Community Development Board had paid R7 564 076 in depreciation contributions to persons who received lower amounts for the sale of their properties than the values determined when the relevant group areas were proclaimed. The Board had received R2 536 894 in appreciation contributions. It had made the following payments (a) in respect of the goodwill value attaching to a business or profession, and (b) to make good any actual financial loss experienced by people who were required to move:

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[4] Assembly, 13 September, Hansard 6 col 460.
[5] Assembly 4 September, Hansard 5 col. 299.
[6] Hansard 3 col. 132; Hansard 4 col. 176.
[7] Hansard 3 col. 133

	Whites	*Coloured*	*Indians*	*Chinese*
Number of payments				
(a)	36	1	2	2
(b)	3	—	—	—
Amounts paid				
(a)	R103 748	R2 496	R14 502	R8 000
(b)	R 7 181	—	—	—

REGIONAL TOWNSHIPS FOR COLOURED PEOPLE

There are group areas for Coloured people in a majority of the towns of the Cape Province, and in metropolitan cities in the northern provinces, for example Pretoria, Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and Bloemfontein.

In the Southern Transvaal, Coloured areas have been developed in a few of the towns only, namely Boksburg, Randfontein, and Vereeniging, with similar development envisaged in Alberton, Nigel, and Brakpan.

In the remaining parts of the three northern provinces, Government policy since about 1968 has been to create regional townships in towns that are considered to be actual or potential points of growth, providing opportunities of employment. People are being encouraged to move to one or other of these townships from areas where the Coloured community is a small one and no housing scheme for these people exists. The populations of these regional townships are likely in time to be large enough to make it feasible to provide adequate educational, social, and other facilities and to develop local governing bodies. Such townships are being established, or are planned, at the following places:

Eastern Transvaal: Middelburg, Witbank, Standerton;
Western Transvaal: Klerksdorp, Potchefstroom;
Natal: Estcourt, Ladysmith, Marburg;
Orange Free State: Bloemfontein.

In certain other towns the development of already proclaimed Coloured group areas is permitted, but they will not be allowed to expand indefinitely. Examples are Heilbron and Welkom in the Free State. Certain other group areas will be retained but the extent of their development will be controlled—here examples are Pietersburg, Barberton, Lydenburg, Piet Retief, Lichtenburg, Brits, Newcastle, Eshowe, and, possibly, Ixopo.

In order to stimulate growth, the Government offers incentive benefits to entrepreneurs using Coloured labour who set up or extend establishments in Bloemfontein, Heilbron, Welkom, Klerksdorp, Ladysmith, or Newcastle.

Final decisions appear to have been postponed in a number of cases pending the report of the Theron Commission. But the creation of Bantu Affairs Administration Boards has introduced some urgency into the situation. These boards have taken over the functions, powers, and assets of urban local authorities relating to Bantu administration, thus they now control urban African townships. Considerable numbers of Coloured people live in some of these townships in the Transvaal and Free State, and are to be resettled.

The Institute of Race Relations has investigated this situation, publishing the results of the study as RR. 41/74. It was found, *inter alia*, that while there were Coloured people who did not wish to leave some of the smaller towns, considerable numbers had of their own accord migrated from other towns and from rural areas in search of better housing and employment and educational opportunities. This had exacerbated existing housing shortages in the towns to which such people had gone. Some of the areas that reported abnormal population growths because of this migration were Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Estcourt, Newcastle, Bloemfontein, and Heilbron.

Almost all of the replies to a questionnaire sent out by the Institute reported a shortage of housing for the Coloured communities. In some cases this was to a large extent due to long delays in the proclamation of group areas—this was the case, for example, in Newcastle, Ladysmith, and Dundee: the proclamations in respect of the two latter towns were not gazetted until 1974. Until 1971-2, the only group area for Coloured people in the East Rand was at Boksburg, although this was patently too small. Building has not yet started in the two newer group areas in this region. In other towns there were lengthy intervals between the proclamations and the acquisition of land and commencement of building, during which period the existing, often dilapidated, houses became seriously overcrowded and shacks were erected in back yards. Examples of such towns are Nigel, Springs, Middelburg (Transvaal), Witbank, Standerton, Christiana, and Newcastle.

NOTES ON GROUP AREAS AND HOUSING IN CERTAIN TOWNS

Johannesburg

The Coloured population of Johannesburg at the end of June 1973 was estimated by municipal officials to be about 85 565, excluding those living at Protea and Alexandra Township (which areas are controlled by the Department of Community Development). Since then the population has grown considerably through natural increase and an influx to the city. It was officially estimated in August 1974 that 7 000 additional dwellings were required at once for Coloured families, but the shortage mounts daily. Especially bad overcrowding and slum conditions have developed at Klipriviersoog.

The Minister of Community Development said in the Senate on 23 August [8] that his department in co-operation with the City Council was building 2 000 dwelling units for Coloured people during the current financial year, and hoped to increase this figure to 2 500 a year until the backlog had been overcome.

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[8] Senate Hansard 2 cols. 750-1.

Municipal officials estimate that about 35 000 Indians are living in Lenasia and some 18 000 in central city areas, mainly Pageview and Fordsburg. The latter is still a controlled area with no group character, but Pageview has been declared a White group area, and some 920 Indian families there [9] will have to move to Lenasia.

The Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly during August [10] that his department had provided 4 512 dwelling units at Lenasia, and a considerable number of Indians had built their own homes there. Extensions to the township had been planned, but these plans had had to be abandoned because a substratum of dolomite had been discovered in the area concerned, which might cause subsidences. After extensive geological surveys, new and safe areas for extensions had been decided upon and would soon be developed.

A first section of the Oriental Plaza in Fordsburg, designed to accommodate displaced Indian traders, was opened early in July.

East Rand

As indicated earlier, because the Coloured group area at Reiger Park, Boksburg, has proved to be far too small, new Coloured group areas are to be developed at Alberton, Nigel, and Brakpan. In the meanwhile, bad slum conditions have developed in parts of Reiger Park and in other areas, for example Nigel and Edenvale.

Similarly, the Indian group area at Actonville, Benoni, is entirely inadequate in size. Garages have been converted into dwellings. Land prices have soared. During June the Group Areas Board was instructed to investigate the desirability of proclaiming further areas for Indians at Springs and Alberton. (Considerable numbers of Indians have lived for more than 50 years at Bakerton, Springs.)

Pretoria

Although housing schemes for Coloured people are being extended at Eersterust, outside Pretoria, there is still a shortage of accommodation. According to the Minister,[11] there were 922 names on the waiting list at the end of 1973.

There is reported [12] to be no room for expansion of the Indian township of Laudium, consequently many families still live in grossly overcrowded conditions in the centrally situated old Asiatic Bazaar. Laudium could be extended to the east and south, but the area concerned has been zoned for Whites.

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[9] Estimate given by the Minister of Community Development, 30 August, Assembly Hansard 4 col. 254

[10] Hansard 3 col. 128, Hansard 4 col. 201

[11] 18 February, Assembly Hansard 3 col. 101

[12] *Star*, 9 August

The Bazaar is being redeveloped as a trading area for the approximately 125 Indian merchants [13] of Pretoria. Some of them had been established there for years, but by the beginning of 1974 approximately 65 remained in the central Prinsloo Street area, where they had occupied shops for a generation or more. Despite a number of warnings they refused to leave during the early part of the year for the reason that the access road to the new trading complex had not been tarred and was impassable during the rainy season. Eventually, however, they were evicted or threatened with summonses, and were forced to comply.

Cape Town

During November 1973 the Cape Town City Council resolved to ask the Government to withdraw the proclamation in terms of which District Six had been declared a White area, and to request an interview with the Minister of Planning to discuss the matter. The Minister's secretary replied, however, that it was considered that such an interview would serve no useful purpose.[14]

Mr. Lofty Adams, an independent member of the CRC who was chairman of the District Six Action Committee which campaigned to preserve this area for Coloured people, told the Press [15] that the original inhabitants would in any case be unable to return. "District Six as a community has been destroyed and its soul shattered on the wastes of the Cape Flats", he said. It would be impossible to restore the character of the area. "With building prices what they are today, District Six as a redeveloped residential area will be placed out of the financial reach of the people who once made the area unique."

According to the Minister of Community Development,[16] by early February his department had spent R20 156 111 on buying 1 919 properties in District Six.[17] An estimated R10 000 000 would still have to be spent on acquiring 456 more properties. A master-plan for the re-development of the area had been completed. Detailed planning was being done in phases, and none of the properties had yet been resold.

The Minister added on 8 October [18] that 4 211 Coloured and 237 Indian families had thus far been moved from District Six.

The Minister of Planning told the Senate [1] that there was a backlog of about 44 000 residential units for Coloured people in the Cape Peninsula and adjoining areas. There had been a large influx from areas further inland. Many hundreds of people were still living in squatter camps. Various Press reports [2] have told of the hardship that results when such camps, established on privately-owned ground, are demolished by the owner's decision. The inhabitants generally have no choice but to establish other illegal shanty-towns somewhere else.

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[13] *Star* estimate, 16 April.

[14] *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 March.

[15] *Star*, 7 October.

[16] Assembly, 12 February, Hansard 2 col. 69.

[17] Mainly from White owners, who had Coloured tenants.

[18] Hansard 10 col. 691.

[1] 21 August, Hansard 2 col. 547.

[2] e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 and 10 April.

The Minister of Community Development said, during this Senate debate,[3] that his department had reached an agreement with the Cape Town City Council in terms of which 2 000 new dwelling units would become available in 1974, 3 500 in 1975, 4 500 in 1976, and 5 000 during each of the two following years. In co-operation with the Stellenbosch Divisional Council 2 000 dwellings would be provided in that area in 1974, and thereafter 3 000 a year. Operating in conjunction with the Divisional Council of the Cape, the department would build 1 500 to 2 000 dwelling units in 1974, and 2 500 to 3 000 a year during the next four years.

Many of these new houses will be on Mitchell's Plain, to the east of existing Coloured townships on the Cape Flats and south of the D.F. Malan Airport. The Secretary for Community Development stated in December 1973 [4] that it was hoped that the first phases of this scheme would be completed within three years. The Minister said later [5] that problems had been encountered in connection with the disposal of sewage, but that these difficulties were being solved.

Mamre and Darling, to the north of Cape Town, have been declared industrial growth points. A large Coloured housing project is to be developed to serve these areas.

The Cape Western Regional Committee of the Institute of Race Relations submitted a memorandum to the Greater Saldanha Bay Commission on draft plans for the development of this area, commenting in particular on proposed housing schemes for Coloured and African people.

Kimberley

The previously-existing Chinese group area in Kimberley was deproclaimed in 1973. As in most other towns, the Chinese residents live, under permit, in White areas, and there have been complaints by some Whites when applications for such permits are made.[6]

Durban

No reliable estimates apparently exist of the shortage of housing in Durban, which is considerable. According to the Ministers of Community development and of Statistics,[7] the Government, the local authority, and private enterprise constructed 3 171 dwelling units for Whites during 1973, 269 for Coloured, and 2 174 for Indians.

As reported on page 124 of last year's *Survey*, the Department of Community Development and the City Council plan to build 1 700 housing units by March 1975 in existing Coloured areas, and, during each of the three successive years, 1 500 units in new Coloured areas at Newlands East and at Mariannhill.

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[3] Hansard 2 col. 751.
[4] *Alpha*, 10 December 1973.
[5] Senate, 21 August, Hansard 2 cols. 754-5.
[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 January and 1 February.
[7] Assembly 18 and 26 February, Hansard 3 col. 97 and Hansard 4 col. 176.

The Minister of Community Development said in the Senate [8] that between 3 000 and 4 000 dwelling units were being built annually for Indians in Durban.

New group areas

During the year under review new group areas have been proclaimed as follows:

for Whites and Coloured in Colesburg, Olifantshoek, Dundee, and Ladysmith;
for Coloured at Frenchhoek, Mafeking, and Estcourt;
for Whites and Indians in Volksrust.

TRANSPORT SERVICES FOR COLOURED PEOPLE

The Transport Services for Coloured Persons and Indians Act was described on page 158 of the 1972 *Survey*. In towns decided upon by the Minister of Transport in consultation with the National Transport Commission, employers of adult Coloured and/or Indian people (other than domestic servants) may be required to pay contributions not exceeding 20 cents per employee a week which will be used to subsidize road transport services.

As mentioned on page 125 of last year's *Survey*, this Act has been brought into operation in respect of Coloured persons (excluding farm workers where appropriate) employed in three areas. No further areas have been added during the year under review.

Questioned in the Assembly on 23 August,[1] the Minister of Transport said that the following amounts were collected and disbursed in the three areas concerned up to 31 March:

	Amount collected *R*	*Subsidies paid* *R*
Five magisterial districts of the Western Cape	2 548 276	8 333
Municipal areas of Port Elizabeth, Despatch, and Uitenhage	377 315	87 273
Municipal area of Johannesburg	131 018	—

It was stated in the Assembly on behalf of the Minister of Transport on 11 October [2] that during the following six months a further R149 020 had been paid in subsidies in the Western Cape.

The increase in rail fares for urban commuters is reported in the next chapter.

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[8] 23 August, Hansard 2 col. 750.
[1] Hansard 3 col. 186.
[2] Hansard 10 col. 712.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN GROUP AREAS

The constitution of Coloured and Indian local government bodies was described on page 125 of last year's *Survey*.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 26 February [3] the Minister of Coloured Relations said that 84 Coloured management committees, four local affairs committees, and eleven consultative committees had been constituted. Of these, 74 management and three local affairs committees had elected as well as nominated members. The only body that was thus far fully elected was the Pietermaritzburg local affairs committee.

It was stated on behalf of the Minister of Indian Affairs [4] that there were two Indian town boards (Verulam and Isipingo), 18 local affairs committees (Natal), eight management committees (three Transvaal and five Cape), and 26 consultative committees (all Transvaal). The local affairs and management committees had nominated members only.

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[3] Hansard 4 cols. 179-80.
[4] 12 February, Hansard 2 col. 50.

URBAN AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION

FINANCES OF BANTU AFFAIRS ADMINISTRATION BOARDS

As mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*, when local authorities controlled the urban African townships serving their areas a number of these bodies subsidized their Bantu Revenue Accounts from their general rates funds. The Bantu Affairs Administration Boards that took over control between 1972 and 1973 are, however, required to be self-supporting financially. This has been particularly difficult because of the rising costs of services, salaries, etc.

It was announced in August [1] that the West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board was facing a deficit of R3 435 000 in the 1974-5 financial year, and was to apply to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for authority to increase the monthly rentals at Soweto by R2 per dwelling and R1 per hostel bed. These increases were approved, to come into effect towards the end of the year.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 17 September,[2] the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that similar requests had been submitted by the Northern Transvaal, Central Transvaal, Northern Cape, and Eastern Cape Administration Boards. The two latter Boards had been authorized to increase rentals by R1,12 and R1,50 per stand per month, respectively. The other applications were under consideration.

SOME NOTES ON HOUSING FOR URBAN AFRICANS

Johannesburg

According to the Information Officer of the West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board, in mid-August there were 15 049 families on the waiting list for dwellings in Soweto, 6 416 of these being priority cases. The dwellings built in this area totalled 954 in 1972 and 1 137 the following year.

There is not much ground adjoining Soweto for further expansi[illegible]e chairman of the West Rand Board, Mr. Manie Mulder, has sa[illegible]hat more economical use of land will have to be made, including, possibly, the erection of duplex-type structures.

As mentioned on page 130 of last year's *Survey*, Alexandra Township, to the north of Johannesburg, is being redeveloped to provide hostel accommodation only. Families living there are being allocated family dwellings elsewhere only if the husband qualifies to remain in the area under Section 10(1)(a) or (b) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act and if his wife joined him there lawfully. Otherwise husbands and wives, if both are in legal employment, must go to live in the separate hostels for men and women, respectively. Wives who are not in employment and widows and divorcées, together with their dependants, and the children of couples who are separated, must leave and live in a homeland. During August, the Black Sash wrote to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development documenting 40 cases of particular hardship and urging that the demolition of family housing in the township should be halted.[4]

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[1] *Star*, 28 August; *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 August.

[2] Hansard 7 cols. 480-1.

[3] *Sunday Express*, 30 June.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 27 August,[5] the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that 13 012 adult males living in Alexandra were to be rehoused in hostels for men. Statistics relating to the number of women and children who would be affected were not readily available. There were still 4 800 families who qualified for rehousing at Soweto or Thembisa. Eighteen single males and 342 families would be sent to a resettlement area in one of the homelands.[6]

The official administration has still provided no heating in the enormous hostels (each providing about 2 500 beds) that were built at Alexandra in 1972, although some draughts have been eliminated by the filling in of honeycomb brickwork in corridors. During the winter of 1974 a private firm headed by Mr. Harry Solarsh made paraffin heaters available at cost to persons who wished to donate these to hostel-dwellers. Most of the women residents received these.

Both the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. Punt Janson, and Mr. Manie Mulder [7] have made it clear that they are not satisfied with the existing very large hostels, especially for the housing of women. Mr. Mulder said that in future, consideration would be given to building cottage-type hostels for groups of 10 to 15 women, and smaller hostels for men with maxima of 100 to 300 beds.

Pretoria

Although hundreds of Tswana families have been moved out to new townships such as Mabopane, to the north of Pretoria, within the boundaries of BophuthaTswana, overcrowding continues to increase in the urban townships of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville/Saulsville because of the ban imposed by the Government some years ago on the provision of further family dwellings there.

A new township called Soshonguve is being developed in Mabopane East, about 36 km from Pretoria, to house families of various ethnic origins who qualify to remain in the Pretoria area, together with squatters from the Winterveldt. Unlike the Tswana people in the rest of Mabopane and other townships in this homeland, residents of Soshonguve are not permitted to buy plots or to obtain business rights.[8]

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[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 August.
[5] Hansard 4 col. 201.
[6] Such areas, and the process of resettlement, are described in a subsequent chapter.
[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 June; *Sunday Express*, 30 June.

The authorities have been planning new hostels for men, to be built at Mamelodi. Their design is reported to be a considerable improvement on that of the Alexandra hostels.[9]

Cape Town

Because of the extremely strict influx control measures in the Western Cape, the adult African male/female ratio in Cape Town continues to be extremely high. In the Assembly on 20 August [10] the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave population statistics as at the end of 1973 for the townships of Langa, Nyanga, and Guguletu:

	Langa	*Nyanga*	*Guguletu*
Men 16 years and over	24 969	10 358	15 573
Women 16 years and over	2 371	2 851	11 981
Children under 16 years	3 738	3 886	25 286
No. of men 16 years and over accommodated in bachelor quarters	23 627	8 123	4 333

Of the men who were 16 years and over, the Minister said, 15 860 qualified to be in the area in terms of Section 10 (1) (a) or (b) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act. There were 818 families on the waiting lists for accommodation for married persons.

In an address given in Grahamstown during July, Dr. Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town said [11] that because of the high male/female ratio, especially at Langa, violence was endemic, prostitution rife, and the liquor consumption had risen to a monthly average of 28 litres per adult.

Port Elizabeth

The Minister stated in the Assembly on 20 August [12] that the estimated shortage of housing for Africans in Port Elizabeth was 8 711. He said that 87 new dwellings were planned for 1974, 1 000 for 1975, 1 500 for 1976, and 800 for 1977. A new hostel for migrant male workers is being built.

In order to expedite the building programme the General Motors Company is lending R1 060 000 to the Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board, at a low rate of interest, for the construction of 500 houses and a primary school.[13] The Ford Motor Company of S.A. is making a loan on similar terms for the redevelopment of a slum where, between 1948 and 1951, emergency dwellings were erected for homeless people.[14]

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[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 July.
[9] *Star*, 22 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 July.
[10] Hansard 3 col. 146.
[11] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 July.
[12] Hansard 3 col. 147.

Committees Drift

There continues to be wide-spread criticism of the Government's plan to create a very large township on sandy ground, with sparse vegetation, at Committees Drift on the bank of the Fish River. The site is 40 km from Grahamstown.

On 13 August a series of questions about these plans was put by M.P.s to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development and the Ministers of Planning, Transport, and Water Affairs.[15] It transpires that 18 000 or more dwellings are envisaged, to accommodate some 110 000 people, including Africans who are to be moved from the Fingo Village, Grahamstown, industrial workers of Grahamstown, and families from Port Elizabeth and surrounding areas. The first of these dwellings may become available towards the end of 1977. A full range of amenities will eventually be provided.

The Cape Provincial Administration has been asked to build an all-weather road between Grahamstown and Committees Drift: no rail link is planned. It is hoped that further employment opportunities will become available in Grahamstown, where concessions similar to those granted for growth points are available to industrialists employing African or Coloured labour.

As mentioned in a subsequent chapter, the town of Peddie has been zoned for future African occupation and ownership. The Town Clerk has suggested that this town and its environs be selected as a resettlement area instead of Committees Drift.

RAIL TRANSPORT SERVICES FOR URBAN COMMUTERS

According to the official *Quarterly Bulletin of Statistics* [16], the total numbers of suburban railway passenger journeys during 1973 were:

1st class	128 179 000
3rd class	400 394 000
	528 573 000

Of this total, 479 420 000 of the journeys were made in the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, and Durban areas. All the third-class and a number of the first-class journeys would have been made by Black commuters, mainly people travelling to and from work.

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[13] *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 May.

[14] *Ibid*, 17 July.

[15] Assembly Hansard 2 cols. 42-9.

[16] Issue for March, Table 13.1.6.

In the Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for the year ending 31 March 1975,[17] a sum of R20 220 000 was allocated to cover the loss on the operation of railway passenger services to and from Black townships. This was R2 500 000 less than the allocation for the previous year, the reason probably being that from 1 January 1973 the previous subsidy on third-class suburban fares in respect of travellers living in Black dormitory towns was gradually reduced. In his Budget speech for the year ending 31 March 1975 [18] the Minister of Transport announced that the subsidy was to be further curtailed, as from 1 November, resulting in an average increase of about 12,4 per cent in the tariffs.

ROAD TRANSPORT SERVICES

A Bantu Transport Services Amendment Bill was introduced in 1974, being enacted as Act 47 of that year. It dealt with levies that may be imposed on employers of adult Africans, in terms of legislation of 1952 and 1957, to subsidize the workers' road transport costs. The levy is not payable in respect of domestic servants employed by private householders, or Africans for whom approved accommodation is provided by the employers.

Contributions were previously payable via urban local authorities to the Department of Transport. In terms of the amending measure, they will be payable via Bantu Affairs Administration Boards. In view of the fact that these Boards control large areas, the definition of an area in which the levy may be imposed is widened. As previously, it will be imposed by the Minister of Transport in consultation with the National Transport Commission, in areas where a need for subsidized transport exists.

The contributions were previously calculated on a weekly basis at a rate not exceeding 20 cents per six days worked by the employee. The rates will in future be calculated on a monthly basis, the maximum amounts being roughly R1 per employee per month.

According to the official Estimates of Revenue for the year ending 31 March 1975[19], the Bantu Transport Services Account was expected to yield R5 300 000. In the Assembly on 28 August [20] the Minister of Transport gave details of disbursements from this Account during 1973-4, which totalled R3 526 707. The largest amount, of R2 224 496, was paid as a subsidy to the Public Utility Transport Corporation (Putco), which operates bus services for urban Africans in a number of towns. The next largest sum, of R296 273, went to the East London-Border Passenger Transport Ltd. Altogether, eighteen bus companies in various centres were subsidized.

Liquor licences in urban African townships have been granted almost exclusively to the local authorities concerned (now, the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards), rather than to private individuals or companies. These authorities are required to spend 20 per cent of the profits on social, social welfare, or recreational services for Africans in their areas of jurisdiction, and to pay the remaining 80 per cent to the Government Department of Bantu Administration and Development for use in the general interests of Africans.

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[17] R.P. 2/1974, Vote 17 (Transport), page 111.
[18] *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 September.
[19] R.P. 5/1974 page 5.
[20] Hansard 1 col. 169.

It was stated in this Department's report for the year ended 31 March 1973 [21] that its share of liquor profits is used chiefly for subsidizing road transport services for Africans commuting daily between the homelands and the workers' places of employment. According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration,[22] the sum involved totalled R7 062 206 in 1973-4. The Department of Transport budgeted [23] R9 139 000 in 1974-5 for "losses in respect of Bantu bus passengers". (The equivalent sum in 1973-4 had been R1 061 000.)

URBAN BANTU COUNCILS

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 8 February,[24] the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 23 Urban Bantu Councils had been created, 13 in the Transvaal, seven in the Free State, two in the Cape, and one in Natal.

This is, clearly, not a popular form of local government. In the Soweto UBC elections, held in October, an estimated 14,3 per cent of those who could have voted did so.

[21] R.P. 26/1974 page 3.
[22] Assembly, 27 August, Hansard 4 col. 198.
[23] R.P. 2/1974, Vote 17, page 111.
[24] Hansard 1 Question col. 22.

THE PASS LAWS

PROSECUTIONS UNDER THE PASS LAWS

The Report of the Commissioner of the S.A. Police for the year ended 30 June 1973 [1] contained information about certain of the cases sent for trial under the intricate laws and regulations that are commonly known as the pass laws. There was a notable decrease in the number for the year ended 30 June 1973.

Nature of law infringement	*Number of cases*	
	1971-2	*1972-3*
Curfew regulations	132 264	131 464
Registration and submission of documents	277 393	203 492
Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act not elsewhere specified	170 967	148 703
Bantu Administration Act not elsewhere specified	15 307	15 472
Masters and Servants Act and Bantu Labour Regulation Act	19 894	16 477
	615 825	515 608

These totals represented 31,8 per cent and 24,2 per cent, respectively, of the total number of cases sent for trial for law infringements during the years concerned. In spite of the decrease, the figure for 1972-3 is equivalent to 1 413 trials for pass law offences every day of the year (Sundays and holidays included). Articles in *The Star* on 3, 4, and 5 July described what was termed a system of "conveyor belt justice" in the Bantu Affairs Commissioners' courts in Fordsburg, Johannesburg, where each court might have to deal with between 80 and 130 cases a day.

PRODUCTION OF REFERENCE BOOKS ON DEMAND

Mr. M. A. Zikalala, who was employed by a legal firm in Durban, was arrested by an African constable in June 1972 for not being in possession of his reference book. He offered to fetch the book from his employer's office, where he had left it temporarily, but permission was refused. After spending a night in the police cells he appeared before a magistrate, was found guilty, and was sentenced to R2 or five days. Mr. Zikalala then sued the constable and the Minister of Justice and Police for R1 000 for wrongful arrest and false imprisonment. He won the case, but was awarded only R7.

Mr. Zikalala then took the matter on appeal to the Natal Supreme Court. The three judges who heard the case accepted his counsel's submission that an offence could have been committed only if he had failed to produce his reference book within a reasonable time. The award for damages was raised to R200.

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[1] *R.P.* 50/1974

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 6 August [2] the Minister of Justice and Police said that the Commissioner of Police had from time to time drawn the attention of members of the Force to standing orders that, where possible, an African should be allowed reasonable opportunity to fetch his reference book. The Minister stated, in a Press interview,[3] that it was not practically possible for this to be done in all cases. The police should, however, give an arrested man an opportunity of sending for his book. "The Natal Supreme Court decision makes it difficult for a policeman to decide at what stage he can arrest a person and hold him", the Minister added. He was studying the judgment with a view to determining what action could be taken to obtain clarity.

In the period that followed some Bantu Affairs Commissioners' courts sentenced men who had failed to produce their reference books on demand, while others acquitted persons who pleaded that they had been given no opportunity to fetch their books. A judge of the Pretoria Supreme Court set aside the convictions and sentences of two Africans, when reviewing their cases, on the grounds that the police had acted in a "slapdash" and "careless" way.[4] One of these cases related to a man who had not been allowed to go and collect his book.

The Press published [5] advice given by Mrs. Sheena Duncan, director of the Black Sash Advice Office in Johannesburg. An African who was without his reference book when stopped by a policeman should tell the policeman where the book was, and request the opportunity to fetch it, she said. If the request was refused and the African appeared in court he should plead not guilty, and should explain the circumstances.

The Minister was granted permission to appeal against the decision of the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg. He said [6] that, pending the outcome, no further instructions were being issued to the police.

Speaking at the University of Stellenbosch [7], the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration talked of steps being taken to eliminate unnecessary arrests of Africans who had committed technical breaches of influx control regulations. Officials of his department together with the police and local authorities were examining the various regulations with a view to rescinding obsolete ones and simplifying the rest, he said.[8]

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[2] Hansard 1 Question cols 5-6.

[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 July.

[4] *Ibid*, 21 September.

[5] *Ibid*, 16 July.

[6] *Ibid*, 7 August.

[7] *Star*, 23 September.

[8] As mentioned in the chapter on employment, the pre-Union Masters' and Servants' Acts were subsequently repealed.

AID CENTRES

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 25 February [1], the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave statistics relating to the functioning of the 16 aid centres [2] that were operating in 1973. Altogether, during this year, 138 980 Africans who were arrested under "pass law" regulations were referred to such centres (the largest numbers being in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Germiston, and Cape Town). Of these, 44 387 were subsequently not prosecuted.

The aid centres helped 1 628 of the Africans to find employment, and sent 92 886 of them to various homelands.

Mrs. Helen Suzman, who asked this question, commented [3] that it was pleasing that thousands of people had been saved from going to jail. Nevertheless, she was distressed at the low proportion (about 1,2 per cent) who had been found employment, as compared with the high percentage (roughly 66 per cent) who had been sent to homelands, where they would be unlikely to find work. They would then repeat their journeys to the cities—through labour bureaux or illegally.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration is reported [4] to have said that the aid centres had not been as successful as had initially been hoped. The manager of the Johannesburg centre told the Press [5] that efforts were being made to eliminate delays in establishing the identities of Africans who had no official documents when they were arrested, in order to ascertain whether they were entitled to be in the areas concerned. Their finger prints were sent to the central registry in Pretoria for this purpose, and meanwhile the persons were kept in jail. The police provided a finger print courier service by car between Johannesburg and Pretoria. The express postal service was used from other centres. Nevertheless, while a reply was awaited an arrested person might have to be detained in jail for three days in Johannesburg and seven or more days in Cape Town. Officials were examining a machine used overseas which could transmit finger prints within minutes.

TRANSIT HOSTEL IN JOHANNESBURG

Not all of those who are endorsed out of a town can be accommodated immediately in a homeland—even in a resettlement camp there. For this reason, a "temporary emergency transit hostel" was opened some years ago in Meadowlands, in the Soweto complex. The account of it that follows is based on Press reports,[6] a visit by Mrs. I. Perlman, the Southern Transvaal

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[1] Hansard 4 col. 152.

[2] For a description of these centres see 1972 *Survey*, page 162. Four further centres have since been established.

[3] *Star*, 26 February.

[4] *Star*, 23 September.

[5] *Star*, 16 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 July.

[6] *Sunday Express*, 9 June; *Star*, 26 June.

Regional Secretary of the Institute of Race Relations, and an account given in the Assembly on 23 August by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration.[7]

The camp consists of 21 rooms in 10 apartments, with no interior doors in the apartments. It is surrounded by a concrete wall. The population is a fluctuating one, reported to consist of 40 adults and 25 children in early June, and 26 adults and 27 children later that month. Women, thus, sometimes have to share apartments with men who are strangers to them. Although it is officially a transit camp, some of the inmates have been there two years or more. Some of the adults are elderly, crippled, or chronic sick who are waiting for accommodation in a settlement that caters for the unfit. Some are widows or divorceés with children, who have been ordered to leave the town. Others are women who qualify to work in Johannesburg but cannot get residence permits for their children. They are given free food (said to be unsatisfactory in quality) and social pensions if they qualify for these; but the general conditions are said to be degrading.

BLACK SASH

The Black Sash continues to run Advice Offices to assist, where possible, Africans who are in difficulties over obtaining permits to live or work in the town concerned, who cannot find accommodation, or who face other problems. There are offices in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, Grahamstown, and East London, two of these being run in co-operation with the Institute of Race Relations.

During the eleven months ended 31 August, the Johannesburg Advice Office dealt with 1 506 continuing cases and 1 171 new ones—an average of 27,65 cases per day. It answered 2 102 inquiries, and its staff gave a total of 6 708 interviews. A successful outcome was reported in respect of 24,8 per cent of the cases handled.

The Athlone Advice Office, Cape Town, dealt with 1 769 cases during the year ended 30 September, while in the year ended 31 October the Natal Coastal Office handled 873 cases.

The Black Sash has updated its *Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Influx Control*, the revised version having been published in February. The May issue of its periodical *The Black Sash* was devoted to migrant labour. In conjunction with the Cape Western Region of the Institute of Race Relations the Director of the Athlone Advice Office submitted a memorandum to the Cape Peninsula Bantu Affairs Administration Board dealing with particular difficulties being experienced by Africans, and giving illustrative case-histories.

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[7] Hansard 3 cols. 163-4

THE BREAK-UP OF FAMILIES

In its report for February and March the Johannesburg Advice Office of the Black Sash stated that the most tragic cases dealt with remained those of women who had been endorsed out of the city, or who had made unsuccessful applications to live with their husbands. There were almost always young children involved, whose future was radically affected by the legally enforced separation of their parents. If the mother did leave, the children grew up without a father's guidance. If, on the other hand, the mother remained illegally with her husband the children grew up without education. As their names could not be listed on a residential permit they could not obtain the "pink cards" required for admission to urban schools (compulsory from 1975).

Professor Monica Wilson, formerly of the University of Cape Town, delivered the Bertha Solomon Memorial Lecture at a conference of the National Council of Women held in Port Elizabeth during May. Her lecture, which has been published by the NCW, dealt in the main with the problems faced by urban and rural African women under the migrant labour system. Among the resolutions passed at this conference was one urging the Government to amend Section 10 (1) (b) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act in such a way that African widows and divorceés could qualify to remain in urban areas in their own right.

AFRICAN FARM WORKERS

It is reported [•] that Bantu Affairs Administration Boards are being strict in their interpretation of regulations dealing with the placement in employment of African farm workers. In general, a man born in a rural community remains classified as a farm worker, irrespective of the educational qualifications he attains. He will not be registered for work in an urban area unless he has a letter from the farmer releasing him, and also allowing him to return when he has completed his contract in the town. If there are surplus labourers on one farm they are placed in rural areas where there are shortages.

One official said that the problem of an educated man wanting to leave a farm would be his family. Without him they would be squatters. Yet they would not be allowed to accompany him to a town.

FOREIGN AFRICANS

Questioned in the Assembly about prosecutions in the Fordsburg Bantu Affairs Commissioners' courts, Johannesburg, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said [•] that during the year ended 30 June 1974, 4 553 Africans were convicted of

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[•] *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 September
[•] 13 August, Hansard 2 col. 41

being in the Republic illegally. Of these, 3 218 were imprisoned, 523 fined, and 447 deported, the remainder being cautioned and discharged.

As described on pages 147 *et seq* of the issue of this *Survey* for 1963, it was decided that year that foreign Africans who were then in private employment in South Africa could remain provided that they obtained identity documents from their home countries, and that they were doing work for which indigenous Africans were not available. (This did not apply in the Western Cape.) According to the Deputy Minister,[10] many of the foreign Africans failed to regularize their position and have been illegally in employment in the Republic.

He stated that senior officials had been instructed to deal as leniently as possible with foreign Africans who came to the Republic before 1963, giving them a further opportunity of legalising their presence. Sympathetic consideration should be given, in particular, to the position of men who had families in S.A. Final arrangements would be decided after consultations had been held with the foreign governments involved.

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 8 October[11], the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that during 1973 a total of 475 387 foreign Africans worked in South Africa (including those recruited for the mines, farms, etc.). The largest numbers came from Lesotho (148 856), Malawi (139 714), Mozambique (127 198), Botswana (36 480), and Swaziland (10 032).

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[10] Assembly, 18 September, Hansard 7 col. 3218; Star, 14 August.
[11] Hansard 10 col. 867.

GENERAL MATTERS

TAXATION

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 8 February [1], the Minister of Finance said that the following amounts had been assessed for the income and/or provincial taxes payable in the 1972 tax year:

	No. liable for tax	*Amount assessed* *R*
Whites	1 150 411	632 262 825
Coloured	82 301	7 404 482
Asians	46 602	8 787 460

So far as Africans are concerned, information given in the Assembly by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development on 13 August [2] has here been combined with figures extracted by the writer from reports by the Controller and Auditor-General on the accounts of the various homeland governments. All amounts refer to the 1972-3 financial year.

	R
Tax based on income	12 314 129
Fixed tax	5 929 580
Hospital levies	56 422
General levies	699 188
Local tax and tribal levies	556 370
Quitrents	103 685
	19 659 374

In its issue for 15 March, the *Financial Mail* estimated that the amounts paid by Africans during 1973-4 in indirect taxation (customs and excise duties and sales tax) might approximate to R150 000 000.[3]

BANTU AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER'S COURTS

A section of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 70 of 1974, made it clear that African corporate bodies or associations, and representatives of the estates of deceased Africans, may sue or be sued in a Bantu Affairs Commissioner's court, as well as natural African persons. The tariffs in these courts are lower than those charged in the Supreme Court, and the procedure is less complicated.

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[1] Hansard 1 Question cols. 32-3.

[2] Hansard 2 col. 63.

[3] Based on an estimate that 20 per cent of total spending is by Africans.

COLOURED CADETS

The Training Centre for Coloured Cadets at Faure in the Western Cape was described on page '81 of the 1970 *Survey*. After an initial period of four months' training, cadets who are considered to be adequately trained are placed in employment.

According to the report of the Administration of Coloured Affairs for the year ended 31 March 1973,[4] 720 cadets were admitted to the Centre for training during this period, of whom 701 were placed in employment after four months. There were 172 young men who were re-admitted to the Centre because of unsatisfactory adjustment to work, or desertion.

COLOURED DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Capital

According to the report of the Coloured Development Corporation for the year ended 30 September 1973, the State increased the Corporation's share capital by R1 480 000 to a total of R8 470 000. A further source of capital was the Corporation's diamond concessions, in respect of which the total reserve was R2 180 000 at the end of the year. The income from rock lobster catches was placed in a suspense account, described below.

Total expenditure

Since the inception of the Corporation in 1962, its Board of Directors had, by the end of September 1973, approved expenditure on development projects and by way of financial assistance to such projects to a total of R13 132 717. In addition, the Spes Bona Savings and Finance Bank Ltd. (a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Corporation) had invested more than R6 000 000 in Coloured areas. A further amount of approximately R2 500 000 had been invested by Coloured entrepreneurs in businesses financed with the assistance of the Corporation.

A few of the Corporation's own undertakings were used as training centres, but most of them were leased to Coloured people or companies. It was hoped that increasing numbers would acquire the capital to purchase the undertakings. During the year reviewed, two hotels and a factory were transferred to Coloured ownership.

Financial assistance granted

Since its inception the Corporation had granted financial assistance to 247 Coloured businessmen, to a total amount of

[4] R.P. 40/1974 page 22

R7 040 993. During the year under review 56 applications were successful, the average amount made available being R31 601. About 92 per cent of the assistance was granted by way of loans, the remainder being in the form of share capital or guarantees.

Almost half of the loans were made to retail traders. The next highest numbers were granted to proprietors of restaurant/liquor outlets and to light manufacturers. The Corporation conducted short courses for these businessmen, and, thereafter, provided advisory services.

Undertakings of the Corporation

The Corporation had itself financed the building and/or development of two cinemas, three factory flat complexes, seven restaurant/liquor outlets, two supermarkets, four filling stations and 13 shopping centres.

The restaurant/liquor outlets were considered to play an important role in the social life of the Coloured community. They provided well-equipped diningrooms and lounges, which maintained high standards.

The Corporation had been directly involved in the financing of 19 out of the 27 Coloured hotels that existed or were being planned. It still owned one of these, which was being used as a training centre for employees in the hotel trade. The Corporation itself ran courses for training managers of hotels and of restaurant/liquor outlets.

Some wholly-owned subsidiaries of the Corporation

The Spes Bona Savings and Finance Bank Ltd. had total assets of R3 715 199 at the end of the period reviewed. Of the total investment at the bank, R2 641 021 had been received from the Coloured public.

Venus Motors (Pty) Ltd. was established to build garages or filling stations for lease to Coloured entrepreneurs or companies. A portion of the profits made was being used to subsidize the training of Coloured motor mechanics.

The supermarket at Grassy Park, called Superama Ltd., was being used as a training centre too. Shares in the company had been offered to Coloured people: 199 such shares had been purchased.

Sadevcor (Pty) Ltd. had been established to develop building stands and to erect houses for better-off people. The first houses would be completed during 1974. It had purchased land at Hawston where a holiday resort was planned.

Rock lobster fishing

Coloured fishermen working as independent contractors, using their own boats and equipment, caught rock lobster which was delivered to the Corporation at a stipulated price. Financial assistance was available to enable men to acquire or improve boats and equipment.

The Corporation hoped, during 1974, to use money in the suspense account to begin erecting a rock lobster packing unit: thus far, the catches had been processed by a White-owned factory.

Diamond concessions

As mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*, the prospecting and subsequent mining rights in respect of precious stones in certain rural Coloured areas have been granted to the Corporation. It is required to contract with companies nominated by the Minister of Mines to undertake operations on its behalf.

As at 30 September 1973, four of the contracting companies were ready to begin active mining operations for diamonds. Three others were still prospecting.

South West Africa

The S.W.A. Administration had provided R250 000 to finance the Corporation's activities in that territory. By the end of the period reviewed, eight businessmen had been granted financial assistance to a total amount of R208 480.

Directorate of the Corporation

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 24 September,[5] the Minister of Coloured Relations said the Cabinet had decided in principle that future appointments of Directors to the Board of the Corporation might include Coloured persons.

RURAL COLOURED AREAS

According to the report of the Administration of Coloured Affairs for the year ended 30 March 1973[6], the rural areas set aside for Coloured people then measured 1 667 697 hectares, and had 49 913 inhabitants. In terms of Proclamation 141 of 9 August, a stretch of land 9 140 hectares in extent has been added, adjoining Steinkopf in Namaqualand.

The Minister of Coloured Relations said in the Assembly on 25 February[7] that during the 1972-3 financial year the Administration spent R330 841 on betterment and development works in these areas. Local Boards of Management contributed a further R91 804.

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[5] Hansard 8 col. 561.

[6] R.P. 40/1974 page 26.

[7] Hansard 4 col. 163.

THE AFRICAN HOMELANDS

AREA OF THE HOMELANDS

An errata slip issued with the report of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for the period 1 January 1972 to 31 March 1973[1] gave the approximate area of the homelands, presumably at the end of this period. It stated, however, "It should be borne in mind that the Department in collaboration with the various Deeds Offices is at present checking the extent of land held by the S.A. Bantu Trust and by Bantu, and that the figures given may change". Since then, there have been further changes as a result of the purchase of land on behalf of the Trust, the removal of "Black spots", etc. However, the tentative statistics given by the Department were as follows:

"Non-quota" land[2]	*Hectares*
State land which passed to the S.A. Bantu Trust	9 085 641
Land obtained by the S.A. Bantu Trust	298 678
Land obtained by Africans	1 120 007
	10 504 326
"Quota" land[3]	
State land which passed to the S.A. Bantu Trust	1 376 469
Land obtained by the S.A. Bantu Trust	3 137 595
Land obtained by Africans	422 933
	4 936 997
Combined total	15 441 323

(In terms of the Bantu Trust and Land Act of 1936, which provided for "quota" land, a total of 6 209 857 hectares was to be added to the then existing homelands.)

Questioned in the Assembly on 9 August,[4] the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said that in order to comply with the quota requirements of the 1936 Act the following additions had still to be made to the homelands:

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[1] R.P. 26/1974.

[2] Set aside in terms of the Bantu Land Act of 1913 or acquired between 1913 and 1936.

[3] Obtained in terms of the Bantu Trust and Land Act of 1936.

[4] Hansard 1 Question col. 14.

	Hectares
Transvaal	661 304
Cape	525 132
Natal	54 849
Free State	7 142

In addition to this, land had to be added to compensate for Black spots which had been or were to be eliminated. (Black spots are patches of land acquired by Africans prior to 1936 which are surrounded by White-owned farms.) The extent of the compensatory land required was:

	Hectares
Transvaal	51 874
Cape	55 494
Natal	42 157
Free State	6 464

(These statistics, too, are subject to revision as plans for the partial consolidation of the homelands are further developed.)

Replying to a further question on 13 August,[5] the Deputy Minister said that during 1973, 1 918 hectares of Black spot land were purchased, together with 2 004 hectares of outlying parts of homelands that jutted out into White areas. The compensatory land added to the homelands totalled 3 665 hectares.

As described on page 145 of last year's *Survey*, in terms of legislation of 1973 broad plans for the partial consolidation of the homelands would be put before Parliament. If approved (as some of them were during that year), all the land to be added to the homelands in terms of the plans would become areas in which released areas[6] could be proclaimed by the State President without further recourse to Parliament. The broad plans could then be implemented in stages by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. In terms of Proclamation 3 of 11 January, new released areas were demarcated in Natal and the Transvaal.

PLEAS BY HOMELAND LEADERS FOR MORE LAND

It has been reported in previous issues of this *Survey* that the homeland leaders are dissatisfied with the Government's plans for the partial consolidation of their areas, and have been demanding more land than the amount promised in 1936. These representations have continued. Further details are given later in this chapter, but it is relevant to mention here that at the Council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations, held in January, Chief Lucas M. Mangope of BophuthaTswana said in his address[7],

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[5] Hansard 2 col. 58.

[6] Areas within which the S.A. Bantu Trust may acquire land.

[7] *The Political Future of the Homelands*, RR. 11/1974.

"There must be a more fair and just sharing of the land . . . We reject outright the present attempts to make the 1936 Land Act the basis of 'settling' this issue . . . This law was introduced to . . . solve the then 'Native Problem'. In no way did the law claim or intend to provide additional area for future independent sovereign states . . . This law has no relevance whatsoever in respect of homeland consolidation negotiations."

Chief Mangope and also Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (KwaZulu) and Mr. Cedric Phatudi (Lebowa) all urged that the future homelands should consist of much larger and fully-consolidated areas. This would not mean that Whites already settled in the areas concerned would necessarily be dispossessed. Chief Mangope said, "We would heartily welcome Whites as citizens in our midst. And not only for the sake of their know-how and their capital, but as people". The others agreed.

The discussions that took place between the Prime Minister and other Cabinet representatives and the homeland leaders on 6 March have been mentioned in an earlier chapter. The official communiqué issued thereafter stated, "The land issue featured prominently. The homeland leaders emphasised that they were not happy with the allocation of land in terms of the 1936 Act. The Prime Minister stated that he was bound in principle and policy by the 1936 Act, and that the Government would not go beyond its provisions. Mr. Vorster emphasised that the first priority was to use the existing land to its fullest extent. He forecast negotiations between the White and homeland governments and between homeland governments themselves on the exchange of White and Black areas."

PEOPLE REMOVED FROM BLACK SPOTS

In the Assembly on 13 August[8] the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that, since 1948, approximately 185 568 Africans from Black spots had been resettled in the homelands. According to the Minister,[9] an estimated 1 559 families, or 10 314 persons, were removed during 1973. Details of some of the removal schemes carried out in 1974 are given later.

CITIZENSHIP OF THE HOMELANDS

The Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 70 of 1974, amended certain provisions of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, 1970.

Among those who can be deemed citizens of a particular homeland are persons born there. The new measure added "from parents of whom one or both were or are citizens of that . . . area at the time of his (the person's) birth" (the reason being that the parents may be only on a visit to the area at this time).

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[8] Hansard 2 col. 51.
[9] Hansard 5 col. 270.

The 1974 Act provided for persons who are citizens of one homeland but have been lawfully domiciled for at least five years in the area of another to apply for and be granted citizenship of the latter homeland instead.

The principal Act laid down various qualifications for acquiring citizenship. These have been made alternatives, to prevent people from claiming citizenship of more than one homeland. The most important factors to be taken into consideration will be birth and domicile. Other factors are the language spoken by the person concerned, the citizenship of his close relatives, and whether or not he has identified himself with any part of the population of an area, or is associated with any part of the population of an area by virtue of his cultural or racial background.

Far from all the Africans, in particular residents of urban areas, have thus far applied for certificates of homeland citizenship.

So far as international relations are concerned, Africans continue for the time being to have the status of citizens of the Republic itself. It seems probable, however, that in terms of Government policy the position may alter after homelands have attained independence.

Chief Mangope's statement that BophuthaTswana would welcome Whites as citizens has been mentioned earlier. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Cedric Phatudi said [10] that if Whites remained in an enlarged Lebowa they would be welcomed as citizens, and his government would entrench their position in a Bill of Rights. Paramount Chief Matanzima has stated [11] that Whites living within the existing boundaries of the Transkei would not be eligible for citizenship of this territory. If, however, the additional districts claimed—Elliot, Maclear, and East Griqualand—were placed under the jurisdiction of his government, the White farmers and others there could remain and become Transkeian citizens if they so wished.

Reacting to these statements, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly [12] that it was not Government policy that Whites who owned land that was incorporated in a homeland should continue to exercise these land tenure rights or should become citizens of the homeland concerned. Later, at a National Party congress in Pretoria the Minister stated [13] that if Whites whose properties were to be included in enlarged Bantu homelands accepted citizenship of these homelands in order to retain ownership of their properties, they would lose their citizenship of the Republic of S.A. In such cases the Republican Government would not accept financial responsibility for buying them out "should things at a later stage get too hot for them".

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[10] *Star*, 25 January; *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 May.

[11] *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 and 12 February.

[12] 19 February, Hansard 3 col. 1230.

[13] *Star*, 30 April, confirmed in a Department of Information Press release on 17 May.

Again, on 16 July, after a meeting with the Transkei White Citizens' Association the Minister declared[14] that Whites and Coloured people who were citizens of the Republic would not lose their citizenship after the Transkei became independent. However, if any such person adopted citizenship of the Transkei he would *ipso jure* lose his citizenship of the Republic, "as would be the case in respect of any other independent country".

THE FINANCING OF THE ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOMELANDS

Budget of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development

According to the official Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for the year ending 31 March 1975,[1] the Department of Bantu Administration and Development budgeted R216 153 300 for payment to homeland governments (as against R144 768 200 in 1973-4). Further details of this proposed expenditure are given later. It also allocated the following amounts:

	R
Health services and hospitalisation in the homelands .	44 097 000
Construction of access roads to Bantu areas . .	1 316 000
Services in the Eastern Caprivi[2]	3 749 000
	49 162 000

The Department's Loan Vote for the same year[3] included the following items:

	R
Purchase of land	25 000 000
Development of Bantu areas by the S.A. Bantu Trust .	61 975 000
Compensation to Whites in the Transkei	1 625 000
	88 600 000

The largest increase over the previous year was the amount allocated for land purchase (R8 525 000 in 1973-4).

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[14] Department of Information Press statement.
[1] R.P. 2/1974 Vote 15.
[2] Services in South West Africa are dealt with in the final chapter.
[3] R.P. 3/[illegible] Loan Vote N.

Further details of the R61 975 000 allocated to the S.A. Bantu Trust are:

	R
Establishment of townships	17 750 000
Hospital buildings	7 228 000
University buildings	2 508 000
Share Capital for Corporations	27 700 000
Other services not yet transferred to homeland governments	12 839 000
	68 025 000
Less sums available from the S.A.B.T.'s own sources	6 050 000
	61 975 000

Allocations to homeland governments

The Department's Revenue Vote includes the following payments to homeland governments.

(a) an annual grant corresponding to the expenditure that the Republican Government incurred on services now administered by the homeland governments themselves during the financial year preceding the date of transfer of control of these services, less revenue from the services which now accrues to the homelands, and less the salaries and allowances of seconded White personnel;

(b) an additional grant, the amount of which is determined annually;

(c) a supplementary amount representing general overhead expenditure incurred on behalf of the homelands, such as the salaries of seconded personnel.

The amounts voted for 1974-5 (as amended in the Supplementary Estimates) were:

	Annual grant R	*Additional grant* R	*Supple-mentary amount* R	*Total* R
Transkei	16 568 000	44 227 000	3 222 700	64 017 700
Ciskei	6 282 000	12 399 000	2 115 600	20 796 600
KwaZulu	19 767 000	36 410 000	3 884 000	60 061 000
BophuthaTswana	7 464 000	18 800 000	2 665 000	28 929 000
Lebowa	7 691 000	14 328 000	1 951 400	23 970 400
Venda	3 198 000	4 847 000	1 024 500	9 069 500
Gazankulu	2 457 000	5 731 000	1 093 000	9 281 000
Basotho Qwaqwa	—	1 815 000	372 100	2 187 100
	63 427 000	138 557 000	16 328 300	218 312 300

To these allocations the homeland governments add amounts derived from their own sources of revenue, such as taxation, licence fees, stamp duties, fines, rents, forest revenue, sales of agricultural produce, liquor profits, interest, etc. The latest available statistics indicating the total received in these ways are contained in reports by the Controller and Auditor-General on the accounts of the various governments for the financial year 1972-3, as follows:

	R
Transkei	9 099 786
Ciskei	3 115 029
KwaZulu	10 185 923
BophuthaTswana	5 048 493
Lebowa	4 986 174
Venda	1 100 515
Gazankulu	1 823 076
Basotho Qwaqwa	178 524
	35 537 520

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said in the Assembly on 27 August[4] that there was no readily available information indicating the amounts that homeland governments had received from local authorities and/or Bantu Affairs Administration Boards in donations from their profits on the sale of Bantu beer. According to the Controller and Auditor-General, Lebowa received R100 000 in 1972-3.

The government allocations described above include amounts voted in the budgets of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and the Department of Bantu Education. They do not include expenditure incurred in the homelands by certain other government departments, e.g. Interior, Prisons, Public Works, Audit, Police, and Transport, nor by the S.A. Railways and Harbours and the Postal Administrations. Expenditure by the Corporations is described later.

Expenditure by homeland governments

The latest available comprehensive statistics indicating estimated expenditure by the homeland governments were in respect of the year 1972-3, and were contained in the issue of *Bantu* for December 1973.

	Transkei *R*
Chief Minister and Finance	985 000
Justice	1 280 000
Education	11 058 000
Interior	7 418 000
Agriculture and Forestry	10 017 000
Roads and Works	7 271 000
	38 029 000

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[4] Hansard 4 col. 198

	Ciskei *R*	*KwaZulu* *R*	*Bophutha-Tswana* *R*
Authority Affairs and Finance	299 300	528 800	339 000
Community Affairs	2 502 300	6 678 400	2 864 200
Works	3 233 600	13 579 600	6 047 000
Education and Culture	4 678 000	7 868 500	5 660 500
Agriculture	1 079 100	2 759 600	1 073 800
Justice	201 700	563 800	261 150
	11 994 000	31 978 700	16 245 650

	Lebowa *R*	*Venda* *R*	*Gazankulu* *R*
Authority Affairs and Finance	441 700	253 800	296 000
Community Affairs	2 614 900	957 800	1 024 000
Works	3 856 600	1 760 800	1 906 000
Education and Culture	5 237 800	1 821 500	1 380 000
Agriculture	2 284 500	718 600	785 000
Justice	319 500	92 800	103 000
	14 755 000	5 605 300	5 494 000

	Basotho Qwaqwa *R*
Authority Affairs and Finance	47 300
Justice and Community Affairs	263 500
Agriculture and Works	1 164 200
Education and Culture	500 000
	1 975 000

Guaranteeing of loans raised by homeland governments

The Second Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 71 of 1974, provided that the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development may, on such conditions as he may determine in consultation with the Republic's Minister of Finance, guarantee repayment of the capital, and payment of the interest on, and any charges incurred in connection with, any loan negotiated by the executive of a homeland government in terms of any law of such government.

Proposed changes in the financing of homeland governments

In an address given in Pretoria on 2 October,[5] the Prime Minister said that homeland governments were to be consulted in regard to possible changes in the channelling of funds to them. The proposal was that indirect taxes paid by their citizens by way of customs and excise duties and sales tax should be transferred to the homeland governments, together with taxes paid by companies or branches of companies operating in the homelands. The "additional grants" voted annually by Parliament to the homeland governments would be reduced accordingly.

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[5] *Rand Daily Mail* and *Star* of 3 October

This would not be merely a book-keeping exercise, the Prime Minister continued. It would give a more accurate reflection of the degree to which the expenditure of the homeland governments was financed from sources which were due to them. It would also place these governments in a better position than before to project their revenues ahead and plan their expenditure programmes accordingly.

POWERS OF HOMELAND GOVERNMENTS

In terms of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 70 of 1974, a new section is to be inserted in the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, 1971, providing that the powers of the Minister or any other officer to establish or disestablish magistrate's courts or Bantu Affairs Commissioner's courts, or to appoint judicial or other officers thereto, shall vest in a member of the executive council of the homeland concerned. The Minister's approval is necessary for the establishment or disestablishment of courts, and for the appointment to courts of persons who are not Africans.

The Schedule to the 1971 Act is amended to extend the range of legislative and executive powers which may be transferred to homeland governments, bringing the position into line with that which obtains in the Transkei.

THE QUESTION OF FUTURE INDEPENDENCE

As described below, the Transkeian Government is negotiating with the S.A. Government for independence within five years. At a "summit" meeting held at a Jan Smuts Airport hotel during November, however, the other homeland leaders decided that they were not prepared to accept independence on the basis of the S.A. Government's policy.

A few days thereafter they met with U.P. leaders. It was jointly agreed that some form of federation would be a practical method of satisfying the aspirations of all population groups within a single, economically indivisible, country.

THE TRANSKEI

Future boundaries

As mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, has on several occasions urged the Republican Government to incorporate into his government's area of jurisdiction the White enclave of Port St. Johns, the districts of Elliot and Maclear (to the west), East Griqualand (to the north), and two strips of White-owned land elsewhere. The government of the Republic has, however, reiterated that it will not go beyond the terms of the 1936 Trust and Land Act.

The Bantu Affairs Commission has been considering what additional areas should be added to the Transkei in order to fulfil the requirements of this Act. According to a Press report,[1] the Department of Bantu Administration and Development suggested that these areas should be Port St. Johns, a White-owned finger of land in the north-west, and strips of land in the Elliot and Maclear districts that protrude into the Transkei. The homeland borders would, thus, be partially rounded off, but the Transkei would remain as two separate areas, divided by East Griqualand.

Port St. Johns does not serve as a commercial harbour, but is a White holiday resort with a fair number of permanent residents. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly on 19 February [2] that should it be included in the Transkei, White owners would be compensated through the Adjustment Committee, as they are being elsewhere in the territory.

The Bantu Affairs Commission's recommendations have not been made public. They will in due course be placed before Parliament.

Progress towards independence

During March, Chief Minister Matanzima moved in the territory's Legislative Assembly that the Republican Government be asked to grant full independence to the Transkei within a period of five years. Conditions he stipulated were that, during this period, the remainder of the land due in terms of the 1936 Act should be added, but that such a grant of land should not prejudice the claims of the Transkeian government to the additional districts requested earlier.[3] The Chief described some of the advantages that independence would bring. He proposed that a recess committee be appointed by the Assembly, with himself as chairman, to draft a constitution for independence. *Inter alia*, the possibility of amalgamation with the Ciskei would be considered.

The Democratic Party considered that the electorate should be consulted by means of a referendum before negotiations were commenced with the S.A. Government; but Chief Minister Matanzima claimed that in 1968 and again in 1973 the electorate had given his Transkei National Independence Party a mandate to call for independence. His motion was adopted by majority vote.

On 16 May and on 15 August discussions took place between the Prime Minister, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development and other senior officials, on the one hand, and on the other, Chief

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[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 December 1973.
[2] Hansard 3 cols. 1219—32.
[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 15, 26 and 28 March.

Minister Matanzima and two of his senior Cabinet members, Chief G. Matanzima and Chief J. D. Moshesh.

According to joint Press statements issued after these meetings and a lengthy statement by the Prime Minister in the House of Assembly on 10 September[4], the Republican Government stated that it was in favour of granting independence to the Transkei. A works committee of experts jointly appointed by the two governments would deal with the necessary preparatory work, examining the legal, constitutional, financial, administrative, and other questions that would arise. The Transkei recess committee would give attention to matters which were of a more domestic nature so far as that territory was concerned. There would also be a joint committee of Cabinet Ministers of the two governments to consider reports by the works committee. Finally, concrete proposals would be submitted to Parliament and to the Transkeian Legislative Assembly.

The Prime Minister said he believed that it would be possible within five years to grant to the homeland government the balance of t[illegible]and due in terms of the 1936 Act. Individual areas had not been discussed at the meetings. The question of the possible amalgamation of the Transkei and Ciskei was a matter which rested entirely in the hands of the governments of these territories.

(Earlier, the Ciskeian Chief Minister, Mr. Lennox Sebe, had told the Press[5] that within the foreseeable future his government would not agree to amalgamation.)

On 19 September the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly[6] that, after independence, citizens of the Transkei who were in the Republic would not be treated in the same way as were foreigners from Zambia, Tanzania, and other African states. They would receive preferential treatment because of their intimate involvement in S.A.'s history and economy.

Speaking to the (White) Transkeian Civic Association in Umtata on behalf of the Chief Minister[7], the Minister of Roads and Works, Chief George Ndabankulu, called on Whites in the territory "to hasten slowly in the process of withdrawal". The whole constitutional development of the Transkei was to be an orderly and gradual process, he said. The safety and interests of Whites would be as well guarded after independence as would those of Transkeian citizens. (The question of White citizenship is dealt with on page 184.)

THE CISKEI

The constitution of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly, as described on page 180 of the issue of this *Survey* for 1972, was slightly amended in terms of Proclamation R38 of 1974. The Assembly now consists of the Paramount Chief and his personal representative (only one of whom may vote) 32 chiefs or heads of tribal authorities, and 20 elected members.

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[4] Hansard 6 cols. 415—9.

[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 March.

[6] Hansard 7 col. 3369.

[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 May.

Proclamation R154 of 16 August, effective from 1 September, declared certain White-owned towns falling within the boundaries of the Ciskeian homeland to be released areas. These were Frankfort, Keiskammahoek, Lady Frere, Peddie, and a portion of Braunschweig. Land in these areas may not be disposed of except to the Ciskeian Government, the S.A. Bantu Trust, the Bantu Development Corporation, the Xhosa Development Corporation, or an individual citizen of the Ciskei. Existing leases of land in respect of any portion of the commonage may not be renewed or extended without the permission of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

Government Notice R1336 of 2 August stated that the Minister had appointed a one-man committee to investigate whether four further towns—Bell/Bodiam, Hamburg, Middledrift, and Whittlesea—should similarly be reserved for occupation or acquisition by Africans.

Some of the towns established entirely for Africans are becoming relatively large. In reply to a question in the Assembly on 8 February [8] the Minister gave population figures for Zwelitsha and Mdantsane, as follows:

	Men	*Women*	*Children*
Zwelitsha	5 313	5 557	15 625
Mdantsane	19 148	23 776	41 911

A new township called Ilitha is being developed in the Berlin area. Ezibeleni township is being constructed to house the Africans of Queenstown.

Progress is being made with the development of the resettlement townships of Dimbasa, Sada, and Ilinge. Dimbasa has been declared an industrial growth point where special concessions are available to private entrepreneurs, and the Ciskeian Government in co-operation with the Xhosa Development Corporation and various churches has sponsored various light industrial undertakings at each of the townships. There is still a great deal of poverty and unemployment; but conditions are improving.

Some of this work, and general plans for the social and economic development of the Ciskei, were described by Chief Minister Sebe in a paper delivered to the Institute of Race Relations in Port Elizabeth on 14 May. Information about various of these projects is included later.

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[8] Hansard 1 Question col. 18.

KWAZULU

Constitutional developments

The KwaZulu constitution was described on page 181 of the 1972 *Survey*. As a date for the first general election has still not been announced, this constitution has not yet come into effect, KwaZulu remaining at the first stage of self-government, in accordance with Chapter 1 of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, 1971. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has continued in office as the Chief Executive Councillor.

It was announced on 18 May [1] that the Legislative Assembly had voted to ask the S.A. Government to allow KwaZulu to move into the second phase of the constitutional programme. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is reported to have said that he would bow to the feelings of the House, although he personally considered that this second phase should follow the first elections, or at any rate be held when the elections were only a few months ahead. They were originally postponed because the Assembly had considered that the Zulu people should apply for citizenship cards and use these, instead of reference books ("symbols of oppression") as proof of identity when voting in the elections. But the people have been slow in applying for citizenship cards. According to Chief Buthelezi, one key reason has been that Zulus in White-controlled areas have feared that they would thereby lose rights of residence in such areas. The Legislative Assembly may, thus, decide to use reference books after all.[2]

The creation of an opposition party to Chief Buthelezi's government was described on page 161 of last year's *Survey*. It was called Umkhonto wa Shaka (Shaka's Spear), and was led by Chief Hlengwa. Chief Buthelezi alleged in the Legislative Assembly during May [3] that a Mr. Francois Fouche of the Bureau for State Security had been instrumental in founding and financing this party. Chief Hlengwa is reported to have defied a request by the Paramount Chief, King Goodwill Zwelithini, to drop the name "Shaka" from his party's title, and to have disobeyed a summons to the Royal Kraal. The Legislative Assembly repudiated Umkhonto, and referred the matter to the regional authority of which Chief Hlengwa was a member, following which 25 of the 26 members of this authority resigned and it was disbanded. This ousted Chief Hlengwa from the Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Jeffrey Mthethwa moved in the Legislative Assembly that the S.A. Government be requested to empower KwaZulu to control or forbid the formation of political parties in this territory until after independence. He urged that parties should not be allowed to spring up from "unknown sources". The view was expressed that the Zulu people could not afford to divide their forces at the existing point in their history. Mr. Mthethwa's motion was approved.[4]

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[1] *Rand Daily Mail* of that date.

[2] *Ibid*, 9 and 18 May.

[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 7, 8, and 16 May, 19 June.

Another dispute in the KwaZulu Assembly has been over the status and functions of Mr. Barney Dladla, formerly Executive Councillor for Community Affairs. During the strikes in Durban that took place in 1973[5] Mr. Dladla acted as an intermediary between certain of the strikers and their employers. He is reported[6] to have admitted subsequently that he had acted in emergency situations without consulting the Cabinet. The Legislative Assembly accused him of having exceeded his prerogatives. It was stated that it was the task of Mr. Solomon Ngobese, the KwaZulu urban representative, and not of Mr. Dladla direct, to negotiate between workers and employers when this was necessary. After a long dispute, Chief Buthelezi demanded "unequivocal and categorical" pledges of loyalty from his Cabinet ministers, which were given.

Shortly afterwards, Chief Buthelezi announced a Cabinet reshuffle. Mr. Dladla was given the portfolio of Justice. With offices in Nongoma instead of Pietermaritzburg, he would have little contact in future with urban workers. Following a further clash in the Assembly, however, he was removed from office by 78 votes to nil (with some abstentions).[7]

Faction fighting

Faction fighting that has taken place over many years in the Msinga district of KwaZulu and the promulgation of Proclamation 103 of 1973 have been mentioned on page 91. Chief Buthelezi said during May that the situation there had been fairly quiet since official action was taken in terms of this proclamation. During that month, however, there was bitter feuding, in Soweto and in KwaZulu itself, between tribesmen reported to have come, respectively, from the Nkandla and Kranskop districts. At least 20 men were said to have been killed.[8] Suspected ringleaders were arrested.

The Dangerous Weapons Act was described on page 48 of the 1968 *Survey*. It provided, *inter alia*, that, in any area that may be prescribed, minimum sentences of imprisonment and/or whipping will be imposed if adults are found guilty of an offence involving violence committed by the use of a dangerous weapon. In terms of Government Notice 1290 of 26 July the KwaZulu Executive Councillor for Justice, Mr. W. S. P. Kanye, declared that these provisions would apply to the area under the jurisdiction of his government.

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[4] *Ibid*, 8 and 18 May.
[5] *See page* 281 *et seq* of last year's *Survey*.
[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 15, 17, and 23 May.
[7] *Ibid*, 21 June and 29 August.
[8] *Ibid*, 9 May; and *Star*, 14 May.

Certain towns in Zulu areas

The temporary administrative centre for KwaZulu is at Nongoma, but a new capital is being built at Ulundi.

The largest towns with Zulu inhabitants are on the outskirts of Durban. Kwa Mashu is administered by the Port Natal Bantu Affairs Administration Board, but the official intention is that it should be incorporated in KwaZulu. According to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development[9] its population (apparently early in 1974) was 170 945. Ntuzuma, being developed in adjoining homeland territory, then had 3 657 inhabitants, while Umlazi, to the south of Durban, had 145 256.

Among other growing homeland towns are Imbali, serving Pietermaritzburg (population 14 913), Ezakheni near Ladysmith (7 916) and Sundumbili, serving the growth point at Isithebe (5 688).

BOPHUTHATSWANA

Powers of government

It was announced in the issue of *Bantu* for September that from 1975 BophuthaTswana would have its own Department of Health. It is reported[1] that Chief Minister Lucas Mangope has asked, too, for the creation of a homeland Department of Commerce and Industry.

Plans for partial consolidation of the homeland

Official plans for the partial consolidation of BophuthaTswana, as submitted to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Bantu Affairs, were described on page 155 of last year's *Survey*. These have not yet been debated by Parliament. Chief Mangope stated during May[2] that the S.A. Government had rejected his Legislative Assembly's counter-proposals.

Resettlement of the Banoneng tribe

In 1909, members of the Banoneng tribe bought a farm consisting of some 300 morgen of partly arable land at Rietfontein, 10 km from Lichtenburg in the Western Transvaal. According to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development[3], they numbered 152 families (about 912 persons) in mid-1974. A detailed *Rand Daily Mail* report[4] stated that the people lived in self-built homes of varying quality, drew water from wells, and had built three churches. Of those who were employed in Lichtenburg, a number cycled to work. The bus fare was 50 cents return. Women could help to augment the family income, and a hospital was within reasonable distance.

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[9] Assembly, 8 February, Hansard 1 Question col. 18.
[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 May.
[2] *Ibid*, 3 May.
[3] Assembly Hansard 2 cols. 71—2.
[4] 27 July.

The Department of Bantu Administration and Development regarded this farm as a Black spot. During June, the tribe was moved to De Hoop, about 50 km to the west of Lichtenburg and within the borders of BophuthaTswana. A Departmental spokesman is reported to have said that the majority moved voluntarily, but this was adamantly denied by the leader, Mr. Freddie Mosiane, when he was interviewed by the Pressmen.

The people were lent corrugated iron huts about 3,7 metres (12 feet) square to serve as homes until they could build new dwellings. Larger families were lent tents as well. When they arrived there were only six water-taps and primitive sanitary arrangements, but these conditions were to be improved. A primary school had been built (better than their previous one). The nearest clinic was some 30 km away. There were no churches. The Minister told the Assembly that R30 386 was paid in compensation for the people's previous properties. Employment opportunities within reasonable commuting distance of the resettlement area were extremely limited.

Resettlement of families from farms near Ventersdorp

Another Black spot removal scheme undertaken by the Department in the latter half of 1974 was of some 800 families from three farms near Ventersdorp in the Western Transvaal (Goedgevonden, Nagel and Welgevonden) to an area called Masedubule, some distance to the north, within the BophuthaTswana borders. According to Press reports,[5] an official said that they had been illegal squatters. They were paid compensation for improvements and were allowed to salvage building materials when their old dwellings were demolished.

The new area was said to be dry and dusty, with no arable land (as the people had occupied previously). Three windmills with dams had been provided, but these were practically dry when reporters visited the area. Some water was being fetched from another dam about 5 km away. Proper latrines were difficult to construct as the ground was hard and stony. There was a school building—initially of three classrooms only. Tents could be borrowed as temporary accommodation. The nearest clinic was some 60 km away, at Zeerust. Again, there were few local employment facilities.

Chief Mangope is reported to have said in a letter to the S.A. Government that the removals were taking place without the consent and against the wishes of his government.

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[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 June and 1, 18, and 27 July.

Removals from the Mayen reserve

A report of the Select Committee on Bantu Affairs was debated in the Assembly on 16 and 17 October. The Government supported a proposal by the Committee that the Mayen reserve be excised from the scheduled areas and that the approximately 270 Tswana families who lived there be removed to another (larger) area in the Taungs district. The Opposition expressed its disagreement. According to a Government spokesman, prefabricated housing was awaiting the people in their new area, together with two schools and a clinic.

Disputes within the BophuthaTswana Legislative Assembly

The official opposition in the BophuthaTswana Legislative Assembly has been the Seoposengwe Party, but during 1974 there have been clashes within the ruling BophuthaTswana National Party (BNP). During March a group of its members said to have been led by Chief E. R. Lencoe introduced in the Assembly a vote of no confidence in the Chief Minister, Chief Lucas Mangope, calling for his removal from office. There were stated to have been three reasons for this motion.

1. Chief Mangope was reported to have interfered in the affairs of the Madikwe regional authority by insisting that its chairman, Chief H. T. R. Maseloane, should either resign from this office or from his position in the Cabinet as deputy leader of the party.
2. The Chief Minister had allegedly written to the Commissioner-General asking that the State President be petitioned for the removal from the Cabinet of Chief Maseloane, and stating that the rest of the Cabinet members supported this request. In fact, it was stated, the Cabinet had not discussed the matter.
3. The Chief Minister had established a BophuthaTswana Development Fund, ostensibly in the name of the Tswana people. But the chief had entered into the deed of trust in his private capacity, and he appointed all the trustees.

The Commissioner-General, Mr. G. R. Wessels, held private discussions with the leaders of the dispute in an attempt to heal the breach, and addressed the Assembly urging reconciliation and suggesting ways of compromise. Those who had moved that Chief Mangope be deposed then withdrew their motion; but the chief did not state whether or not he would accept reconciliation. Three members of his Cabinet were said to be loyal to the Chief Minister, but one, Chief J. B. Toto, supported Chief Maseloane.

The Chief Minister then again approached the Republican Government through the Commissioner-General, requesting the dismissal of both Chief Maseloane and Chief Toto. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration confirmed[6] that two letters had been received, but said that Chief Mangope had not sent the full information that was asked for about the motivation for his request. Chief Mangope is stated to have told the Press that "Pretoria" had been interfering in matters of local politics.

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[6] Assembly, 13 August, Hansard 2 cols. 49—50.

At a meeting of party members held in April it was decided by majority vote that Chiefs Maseloane and Toto should be expelled from the BNP. But the two men refused to accept the decision, maintaining that the meeting concerned had not been properly constituted. At the end of August they petitioned the Supreme Court, which granted an interdict giving Chief Mangope and his Cabinet three weeks to show why the men should not be reinstated. Then, on 9 September, Chief Mangope announced that he had decided it would be in the best interests of the party if he consented to the reinstatement of the two chiefs.

It was reported on 11 November that Chief Mangope had resigned from the BophuthaTswana National Party and founded a new Democratic Party.[7]

Some towns in BophuthaTswana

A Capital for BophuthaTswana is being built at Heystekrand, to the north of Rustenburg. The largest towns are in the portion of the homeland which lies to the north of Pretoria. According to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development[8], GaRankuwa in this area has 63 908 residents, Mabopane 61 200, and Temba 15 506.

GaRankuwa and Mabopane are, in essence, dormitory towns of Pretoria (although a minority of workers is employed at "growth-points" outside the city). Besides the Tswana residents there are numbers who are of Ndebele, Pedi, Shangaan, or other origin. These people protested against a decision by the BophuthaTswana government to make Tswana the medium of instruction in all lower primary schools. It was decided, as a compromise, to set aside Mabopane East as a special area with mother-tongue instruction for various ethnic groups. But, according to a Press report[9], the difficulties of transporting pupils to schools catering for their individual groups proved greater than had been anticipated. It has, thus, been planned that "alien" communities should gradually be moved to Mabopane East, and that in the meanwhile flexibility should be permitted in the choice of the medium of instruction in the lower primary schools.

LEBOWA

Plans for partial consolidation

As indicated on page 152 of last year's *Survey*, the Lebowa government rejected the Government's plan for the partial consolidation of its area, and set up its own land commission headed by Mr. Collins Ramusi, the Minister of the Interior. This commission's report was tabled in the Legislative Assembly during April. In terms of its plan, Lebowa would have about one-third of the Transvaal including at least 20 "White" towns and incorporating certain areas which, according to the central Government's plans, are to become part of Gazankulu or BophuthaTswana or may be a South Ndebele homeland. The commission suggested that all non-Sotho people living in the area it claimed should be invited to become citizens of Lebowa, and that no-one should be forced to move.

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[7] Account compiled from numerous Press reports between 12 March and 11 November.
[8] Assembly, 8 February, Hansard 1 Question col. 18.
[9] *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 June.

On 7 May the Prime Minister, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, and other senior officials met members of the Lebowa Cabinet to discuss the land issue and other matters. It was stated in a joint communiqué issued after the meeting [1] that the Prime Minister had explained the implications of the various proposals for the allocation of land, and the legal position. The Minister had clarified the manner in which removal schemes were carried out.

Conflicting claims to the Garankuwa-Mabopane complex were discussed. The BophuthaTswana Government had insisted that this formed part of its territory, and had firmly rejected a suggestion by Lebowa that it was an "international" area.[2] After the meeting the Lebowa Chief Minister, Dr. Cedric Phatudi, said [3] that there was need for an amalgamation or federation of homeland governments to control areas where people of various ethnic origins were intermingled.

Another such area is in the eastern Transvaal, around Bushbuckridge, Tzaneen, and Phalaborwa. Dr. Phatudi and the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor H. Ntsanwisi, met during May to discuss the matter. According to Mr. Patrick Laurence in the *Rand Daily Mail*[4], there are eight large farms in the Bushbuckridge area which for some time were under the jurisdiction of a Sotho chief, but the majority of his subjects were Shangaan. He first opted to join Gazankulu, but later decided on Lebowa instead. The Department in Pretoria has suggested that the land be divided between the two governments: this would involve the displacement of numbers of people of both groups.

Yet a further complication is that Lebowa's claims include land that the Department tentatively regards as a future South Ndebele homeland. Relationships with Ndebele chiefs are described later in this chapter.

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[1] *Rand Daily Mail* and *Star* of 8 May.

[2] *Star*, 30 April.

[3] *Star*, 8 May.

[4] 27 June and 1 August.

The Department has been negotiating to acquire, for possible incorporation in one of the homelands, the Zebediela citrus estates and certain White-owned farms to the west of Pietersburg.

The removal of Pedi tribesmen from Doornkop[5]

It was mentioned in the issue of this *Survey* for 1964 [6] that the farm Doornkop, owned by Pedi tribesmen and situated about 15 km north of Middelburg, had been declared a Black spot. The people were offered alternative land further to the north, and compensation for improvements, but, under their then Regent, Chieftainess Miriam Ramaube, they refused to move. A commissioner was appointed by a court of law to investigate the ownership of the farm. The chieftainess declined to hand him the relevant documents: after two suspended sentences she served two successive periods of imprisonment. Finally, under threat of a third jail sentence, she submitted in 1970 and moved to one of the alternative areas offered, a farm called Bothashoek in Lebowa, more than 250 km to the north. Her son, who on reaching his majority became Chief Seth Ramaube, went with her, and they were joined by some 200 families from the farms of Whites. Mr. Albert Ramaube, Seth's cousin, remained at Doornkop as the unofficial chief there. He, too, resisted the removal plan.

No major developments were reported for some years, but eventually Doornkop was expropriated by the State, and early in 1974 the State President signed an eviction order, requiring the Bapedi to move by 25 June. They could elect to go to Bothashoek, or to a farm near it called Praktiseer, or to land at Hlogotlou near Nebo, all situated in Lebowa.

The tribe had bought the Doornkop farm from a White man in 1905, the lawful owners being 285 members of the Pedi group. By 1974 there were about 420 Pedi families living on the farm, who had, since about 1970, been joined by approximately 18 000 people of the South Ndebele and Swazi ethnic groups. These people paid rent to the owners. Mr. Punt Janson, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, invited Pressmen to accompany him on a visit to the farm. He said that the newcomers since 1970 were illegal squatters. The area was totally unplanned, with no roads, adequate water supply, or proper sanitation. The Pressmen agreed that the water supplies were inadequate. The sanitary facilities consisted of self-dug pits, most of them enclosed, they reported. There was a school, in dilapidated buildings. The houses were simple, but on the whole neatly kept. The people had built three churches. Some of the men were employed in towns as migrants and others worked on farms in the vicinity, but a high proportion was unemployed.

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[5] This account has been compiled from numerous Press reports in June and July, and from information given by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development in the Assembly, 6 August, Hansard 1 Question cols. 2—3.

[6] Page 159.

Mr. Janson said it had been decided to move the Pedi people for a start, because the boundaries of their homeland had been more or less decided upon and they could be provided with alternative land within this area. This was not feasible for the others concerned, since the boundaries of their homelands were still subject to negotiation.

The Pedi tribesmen were reported to be deeply resentful: few were willing to move, and by the deadline on 25 June none had, apparently , done so. Protest meetings were held, and money was collected for possible legal action.

On 26 June officials of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development brought trucks to Doornkop to start moving the people. Armed policemen accompanied them. It was reported that one of the first to be moved was the unofficial chief. His furniture and belongings were loaded on to trucks and his home demolished.

According to reports, Bothashoek is a rocky, thornbush area. Small township plots had been made available for sale, but there is no arable land (many of the tribesmen at Doornkop had cultivated maize and vegetables). The Department had provided a covered reservoir with pumps and, at the time of the move, pipes were being laid to feed water taps. Primary school buildings and enclosed pit latrines had been built, and a weekly clinic was to be held. When the people arrived they were provided with rations for the first three days. Two shops were operating, and coal was on sale. Each family was allocated a small corrugated iron hut, measuring about 3,7 metres (12 feet) square, as temporary housing. Larger families were lent tents as well. The huts could be purchased. The people soon began extending these by adding structures mainly of rusted corrugated iron brought from Doornkop.

Conditions at the other two resettlement areas were reported to be much the same. There were about 200 small brick dwellings at Praktiseer, apparently for sale. At Hlogotlou there was a bucket sanitation system: the buckets had not been emptied for some days when reporters visited the area. Small arable plots could be purchased near to the dwellings in this area. The primary school accommodation was apparently adequate, with better buildings than at Doornkop.

At the time of the move the Deputy Minister stated that people who had owned land at Doornkop would be paid compensation as soon as possible. His department had rejected an initial valuation because it was considered to be too low.

Dr. Cedric Phatudi told the Press that his government had voiced its opposition to removal schemes. It, nevertheless, now had a moral obligation to care for the people who were being resettled, and would have to decide where they would work and plough land. As in the case of other removal schemes, one of the main problems appeared to be the provision of local employment. Dr. Phatudi stated that many of the people might eventually be absorbed in jobs in and around Praktiseer, which was to be developed as an industrial growth point. There were asbestos mines in the vicinity; an irrigation scheme and a cotton manufacturing concern were to be established; a high school already existed, and a teacher training college was planned.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration announced on 1 July that some of the Pedi people might be allowed to remain in the White area, or to return there, if they accepted employment on White-owned farms. Their families would be able to accompany them. It was reported, however, that this suggestion was, in general, rejected since farm wages were low and because men who entered such employment might, in terms of labour bureaux regulations, be precluded thereafter from working in a town.

Dissolution of the opposition party

It was mentioned on page 161 of last year's *Survey* that a previous Chief Minister, Chief M. M. Matlala, had formed an opposition Lebowa National Party. Dr. Phatudi's supporters then constituted the Lebowa People's Party.

In the Legislative Assembly during March, Chief Matlala moved a vote of no confidence in Dr. Phatudi's government. He absented himself from much of the debate, however, and failed to reply to his motion. The Speaker then withdrew recognition of Chief Matlala as leader of an official opposition. Following discussions with Dr. Phatudi, Chief Matlala dissolved his party, merging it with the Lebowa People's Party.

Lebowa Civil Service

The Lebowa Government appointed a commission headed by its Minister of Works, Chief T. J. Mothapo, to enquire into the relationships between Black and White members of its civil service. It had been reported that a number of Africans had resigned. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development is stated [7] to have informed the Lebowa authorities that they were not competent to investigate the employment and grading of seconded White staff.

The Commission claimed [8] that it had found disparities in the salaries of White and Black staff, a lack of willingness among some White officials to train Blacks to take over from them, and evidence of contemptuous attitudes among certain of the Whites.

Writing in *The Star* on 29 April, Mrs. Jean Le May pointed out that the White officials were responsible to Black ministers whose policies might differ radically from those of the central government from which the Whites were seconded. These officials were obliged to administer laws and directives which did not originate in Lebowa, and were deeply resented, for example those controlling labour and dealing with removal schemes. This led to ill-feeling against the officials. One of them had told her that they were training Blacks as fast as they could, but had had to start from scratch.

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[7] *Star*, 17 April.
[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 May.

VENDA

Party politics

As reported last year, the Venda Legislative Assembly has 60 members, consisting of 27 chiefs or headmen, 15 members designated by chiefs acting with their councillors, and 18 elected members. The constitution provides that the Chief Minister must be a chief.

Prior to the first elections a commoner, Mr. Baldwin Mudau, formed a Venda Independence Party (VIP) to oppose the traditionalists, who are led by Chief Patrick Mphephu. At the elections, the VIP won 13 of the 18 seats. According to reports, at the end of 1973, 37 of the chiefs and headmen and their nominees supported Chief Mphephu and 5 the VIP, giving the Chief a majority of 24. He was elected Chief Minister.

At the beginning of 1974 Chief Mphephu lauched the Venda National Party (VNP). He said [1] that it would be tradition-orientated, concerned with preserving the powers and functions of the chiefs. It would aim at independence, but would not negotiate for this on the basis of the existing land consolidation plans.

When the Legislative Assembly began its session, during March, some of the Chief's former supporters crossed the floor to join the opposition, and this trend continued. It was reported [2] that the VNP majority dwindled to six, and that still more chiefs were considering changing their allegiance. At this stage, when the Assembly had been in session for only eleven days, Chief Mphephu announced its closure. Mr. Mudau said [3] that several motions had not been debated, and that the Chief Minister's action had been irresponsible.

Later, Mr. Mudau accused Chief Mphephu of attempting to intimidate the other chiefs into supporting him by claiming that he had power to dismiss them.[4]

The Commissioner-General, Mr. D. de Wet Nel, said in November that time had been wasted during the session because many members had not understood Parliamentary procedure. Lectures on procedure would be arranged for them.

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[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 January.
[2] *Ibid*, 7 May.
[3] *Ibid*, 29 March.
[4] *Ibid*, 25 July and 9 August.

Plans for partial consolidation of Venda

It was mentioned on page 153 of last year's *Survey* that, in terms of the Central Government's plans as approved by a majority in the House of Assembly, Venda will eventually consist of two separate stretches of land, divided by a "finger" of land that is occupied mainly by Shangaans and has been allocated to Gazankulu. This decision is much resented by the Venda government.

The central Government has been negotiating to buy White-owned farms adjoining the present borders of Venda, which will apparently be used for the resettlement of some 4 000 Venda families from an isolated portion of the present homeland, situated to the west of Louis Trichardt.[5]

GAZANKULU

The 1974 session of the Gazankulu Legislative Assembly was a very short one, concerned almost entirely with formal business. It was opened by the Republic's Minister of Water Affairs. In his reply to the opening speech the Chief Minister, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, is reported [6] to have spoken candidly about "discrimination, forms of petty apartheid, and other antiquated methods of dealing with Black people".

BASOTHO QWAQWA

The Chief Minister of Basotho Qwaqwa, Chief Wessels Mota, is stated [7] to have called on Sotho-speaking chiefs and tribesmen in the north of the Transkei and Ciskei, near the Lesotho boundaries, to throw in their lot with his homeland, instead.

The central Government has been negotiating with White farmers in the Free State for the purchase of land to be added to the small and severely congested Basotho Qwaqwa homeland, at Witzieshoek.

In terms of Proclamation 112 of 25 October, the territory has become self-governing, under the name of Qwaqwa.

It was reported [8] in October that more than 2 000 families had been brought by truck to a place called Tseki at Witzieshoek, where necessary amenities were completely lacking. Most of them had come from a portion of the Tswana homeland at Thaba'Nchu, having been ordered to leave by the regional authority there. Others had been ejected from farms. The people had erected rough shelters, mainly of corrugated iron, and had dug pits for latrines. The only water supply near at hand was a stream, probably polluted, and used by animals. There was no school or clinic, and no local employment opportunities.

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[5] *Ibid*, 1 and 10 August.
[6] *Star*, 26 March.
[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 June.
[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 October.

SWAZI

The official plan for the partial consolidation of Swazi was described on page 154 of last year's *Survey*. It involves, *inter alia*, the elimination of the Legogote-Nsikazi regional authority area to the east of White River and Nelspruit, and the resettlement of the people on less fertile land further south, along the Swaziland border. The chiefs concerned sent letters to the Commissioner-General for the Swazi group and to Mrs. Helen Suzman, expressing their strong opposition to this scheme.[9]

In reply to a question from Mrs. Suzman, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly[10] that approximately 59 800 Swazis lived in the Legogote-Nsikazi area, and would have to move after compensatory land had been acquired.

NDEBELE

A large proportion of the Ndebele people live in Lebowa, many of them in the Zebediela area. Others live in parts of BophuthaTswana to the west of Groblersdal, to the north of Pretoria, and elsewhere. It was suggested in the official plans for the future of the homelands that an Ndebele homeland be created in the Groblersdal area, but it appears that no final decision has been reached.

Four Ndebele tribal authorities exist, one having the status of a regional authority, but they fall under the Lebowa or the BophuthaTswana governments. Two urban representatives have been appointed.

Certain of the chiefs, for example Simon Mahlangu near Groblersdal and Johannes Kekana at Zebediela,[11] have been campaigning for a territorial authority and a homeland of their own, and urging their fellow-chiefs to secede from the administrations which now control their affairs. Neither of the governments concerned supports the plan. One difficulty is the fact that the language used as the medium of education has varied according to the areas where the people have lived.

FARMING IN THE HOMELANDS

Planning of Agricultural Land

Replying to a question in the Assembly,[1] the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development gave figures indicating the percentage of the area of each homeland which had been "planned" by the end of 1973—i.e. divided into arable lands, grazing camps, and residential areas:

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[9] *Star*, 28 August.
[10] 26 August, Hansard 4 col. 196.
[11] *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 August; *Star*, 12 October.
[1] 8 February, Hansard 1 Question col. 18.

	Percentage of total area planned
Transkei	59,5
Ciskei	78,8
KwaZulu	49,1
BophuthaTswana	56,1
Lebowa	65,0
Venda	77,6
Gazankulu	99,0
Basotho Qwaqwa	100,0

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has appointed a select committee to investigate land tenure and to consider the possibility of granting long leases to deserving farmers.

Agricultural Advisers

In reply to a further question on 12 February [2], the Deputy Minister said that the following numbers of African agricultural advisers were employed by his department and homeland governments:

Transkei	265	Venda	44
Ciskei	155	Gazankulu	47
KwaZulu	168	Basotho Qwaqwa	10
BophuthaTswana	126	Swazi	20
Lebowa	173		

Later, he added [3] that the following numbers of students were being trained at agricultural colleges:

Tsolo, Transkei	75
Fort Cox, Ciskei	82
Chwaka, KwaZulu	107
Taung, BophuthaTswana	78
Arabie, Lebowa	130

Value of crop and pastoral production

The Minister [4] gave figures for a five-year period indicating the total value of crop and pastoral production in the various homelands. Statistics for 1972 (the latest available) were:

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[2] Hansard 2 col. 53.

[3] 9 August, Hansard 1 col. 394.

[4] Assembly, 19 February, Hansard 3 cols. 114—6.

	Crop production *R*	*Pastoral production* *R*
Transkei	7 607 213	525 838
Ciskei	435 403	646 594
KwaZulu	12 040 450	1 292 918
BophuthaTswana	1 413 012	1 262 078
Lebowa	4 191 222	755 878
Venda	304 618	103 547
Gazankulu	283 380	119 972
BasothoQwaqwa	49 750	46 424
Swazi	142 721	298 912
South Ndebele	190 543	3 759
	26 658 312	5 055 920

Crops produced

No recent figures are available indicating the yield of traditional crops such as maize, sorghum, kaffircorn, etc. or of wheat, cowpeas, dry beans, or groundnuts. On 16 August, however, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development[5] gave figures showing the extent of land planted with various commercial crops (no date was specified):

	Hectares
Resilient fibres	18 392
Sugar cane	14 349
Coconuts	940
Cashew nuts	24
Coffee	205
Tea	900
Pecan nuts	5
Macadamia nuts	12

There were 119 decortication plants in the homelands to process the fibres, he said. There is a sisal factory in Lebowa.

The Transkeian government has introduced legislation providing for the more efficient marketing of farm produce. Chief Z. Mabandla, Minister of Agriculture, said that according to the existing practice peasant farmers sold their produce to traders, who resold it at a profit.[6] In its report for 1973 the Xhosa Development Corporation[7] said that the Western Transvaal Farmers' Co-operative was investing R2 000 000 in the building of grain mills in the Transkei on an agency basis. The firm of H. Lewis and Co. was operating a grain mill at Butterworth.

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[5] Assembly Hansard 2 cols. 115 [illegible].

[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 April.

[7] Also see *S.A. Digest*, 8 February.

Agricultural divisions of the Bantu Investment Corporation (BIC) and the Xhosa Development Corporation (XDC), established in 1973, are to control large-scale farming projects on land acquired from White farmers for adding to the homelands. They already control various projects in previously-existing homeland areas. The schemes are supervised by homeland agricultural departments, and may eventually be taken over by African co-operatives or individuals.

One of the projects controlled by the XDC in the Ciskei is the Tyumie Valley citrus farm near Alice, which was bought from a White man in 1972. This Corporation has recently established two small tobacco plantations in the Ciskei, where Africans are being trained.[8]

The BIC in co-operation with Sapekoe Tea Estates has established a tea plantation in Venda, and a silk industry in Gazankulu. The KwaZulu government has made available to this Corporation 620 ha of irrigated land for the development of a mixed farming project, to produce cotton, groundnuts, soya beans, lucerne, and winter vegetables. Potential farmers will be trained there. It is planned that after five years the estate will be subdivided into small units which will be allocated to Africans who have proved to be capable farmers.[9]

The BIC is planning three projects for BophuthaTswana: a fresh milk production scheme to help supply the GaRankuwa and Mabopane complex, an irrigation farming scheme near Vaalharts, and a fish hatchery on the Pienaars River, with, possibly, a canning and freezing industry to follow.[10] Another fresh-water fish production project may be organized in the Pongola flood pans of KwaZulu.[11]

Irrigation

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said in the Assembly on 16 August [12] that 4 050 ha were under irrigation in the Transkei and 19 897 ha in other homelands of the Republic.

The Qamata irrigation project in the Transkei and the new Lanté-Mbinzana scheme in the Ciskei both derive water from the Lubisi Dam. Various other projects have been described in previous issues of this *Survey*. Among these is the ambitious J. G. Strydom Dam at Josini, on the Pongola River in Zululand. For more than two years little progress has been made here, as it was found necessary to strengthen the foundations. It appears to be uncertain whether or not canals will be built, as originally planned, to irrigate land now owned by the State to the north of the dam: it seems likely that this land will become part of KwaZulu.

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[8] 1973 report of the XDC, also *Bantu*, September.

[9] *Homelands: The Rôle of the Corporations*. Chris van Rensburg Publications (Pty.) Ltd., 1973; and *Sunday Express*, 15 September.

[10] *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 May.

[11] *Bantu*, May.

[12] Hansard 2 cols. 115—6.

Cattle-buying schemes

The BIC, in co-operation with the homeland governments concerned, has launched cattle-marketing schemes in KwaZulu and near Taungs in BophuthaTswana. The Corporation is represented at sales by its own buyers, who purchase cattle which do not fetch a minimum guaranteed price. These cattle are then fed on special feedlots with a view to their fetching higher prices.[13]

FORESTRY

The extent of forests in the homelands was given by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development in the Assembly on 16 August:[14]

	Hectares	
	Transkei	*Rest of Republic*
Land covered with indigenous forest . .	89 731	135 878
Extent of commercial plantations . . .	59 573	34 930
Extent of non-commercial woodlots . .	6 000	19 853

He added that 19 sawmills and 14 creosoting plants were operating in the homelands.

The April issue of the *Bantu Education Journal* carried an article on forestry as a career. A 2½-year course is provided at the Fort Cox agricultural school, the entrance qualification being J.C. There was a total of 188 posts available to Africans early in the year. Promotion was possible through six ranks from Forest Assistant Grade II to Chief Forester.

Discussions have been in progress between representatives of the S.A. Paper and Pulp Industries and of the KwaZulu government regarding the possible afforestation of a large extent of ground along the north coast of Natal.

MINING IN THE HOMELANDS

Replying to a series of questions on mining, asked on the same occasion, the Deputy Minister said that the numbers of prospecting and mining leases held in homelands of the Republic and South West Africa were:

	Prospecting	*Mining*
White persons	8	—
White-controlled companies	104	29
African persons or companies	4	1

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[13] *S.A. Digest* 3 May: *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 January.
[14] Hansard 2 cols. 115—6.

Mining leases had been granted in the Republic in respect of the following:

Transkei—granite, travertine;
KwaZulu—coal, clay, sand, granite;
BophuthaTswana—platinum, winestone, calcite, fluorspar, granite, norite, limestone, asbestos, chrome;
Lebowa—vanadium, kaolin, manganese, chrome, andalusite, asbestos;
Gazankulu—stone, clay, winestone, magnetite.

During 1973, the Deputy Minister said, R133 350 was paid to the S.A. Bantu Trust and R13 516 to Corporations established by the State in royalties and prospecting or other fees. No particulars were available about amounts paid to African governments or tribes. (Amounts paid to the BaPhokeng tribe near Rustenburg were described on page 174 of last year's *Survey.)*

The Deputy Minister stated that the Bantu Mining Corporation had established a crusher at Giyani in Gazankulu, and two sand removal schemes in KwaZulu.

A deposit of high-grade kaolin has been found near Ndwedwe in KwaZulu.[15]

BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT ACT, NO. 70 OF 1974

Section 16 of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act amended the Promotion of Economic Development of Bantu Homelands Act, 1968, by making provision for the BIC or a development corporation to indemnify industrialists and businessmen in the homelands, established on the agency basis, against losses which they may incur as a result of certain circumstances beyond their control, which are not insurable and in respect of which they have no effective right to damages.

The State may take over the obligations of the corporation concerned in regard to the payment of sums to compensate for such losses.

Provision is made for the determination of an industrialist's loss by agreement between the parties, after a valuation by a competent valuator has been obtained, or, failing agreement, by a valuator appointed by the Minister of Economic Affairs.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN THE AFRICAN HOMELANDS

General

(See also the section on the decentralisation of industries in the "Employment" chapter for further information in this connection.)

In its annual report for the year ended 31 March 1973 the Bantu Investment Corporation (BIC) stated that between

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[15] *Sunday Tribune*, 22 September.

1959/60 and 1972/73 it had granted 1 413 loans worth R9 817 755 to African businessmen: 1 166 were original loans while 247 were additional loans.[1] Of the original loans granted, 998 or over 85 per cent were for commercial enterprises, 146 or 12½ per cent were for service industries, and 22 were for industries. Since 1959/60 well over half the number of loans granted and more than 60 per cent of the amount granted had gone to BophuthaTswana (410 loans) and KwaZulu (386 loans).

By the end of March 1973, the BIC had erected 392 business buildings for leasing to African businessmen at a cost of R2 652 797,[2] and a further 16 buildings costing R137 800 were under construction. Since 1962, when the housing loan scheme for Africans resident in homelands was initiated, 471 housing loans amounting to R1 129 205 had been made.

The share capital of the BIC as at 31 March 1973 amounted to R40 830 000 consisting of shares of R1 each, an increase of R9 050 000 since 1971/72. The fixed assets increased by R8 777 572 to R34 709 395 between 1971/72 and 1972/73. The corporation showed a nett profit of R415 089 in 1972/73 compared with a nett loss of R452 771 in the previous year. Deposits received from Africans at BIC savings accounts increased by R2 421 086 to R12 343 386.

The BIC received a great deal of criticism during the year. In January the Chief Minister of BophuthaTswana, Chief Lucas Mangope, said: "Instead of becoming a dynamic catalyst for economic progress, the BIC became a monopoly, and thereby an obstruction. It assumed that we in the homelands were economically immature . . . but to assume that it can monopolise all negotiations is to defeat its own purposes." The Chief went on to say that the BIC had overlooked the fact that "people will absorb and implement change only to the extent to which they take part in it." [3]

In May Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Executive Officer of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, said that African leaders had told the Prime Minister "we did not feel the BIC was ours as we were not shareholders in it and there were no Black directors on its board." [4]

In September the press reported that a team of auditors were investigating a BIC project [5] and during August and September opposition M.P.s directed searching questions both in and out of Parliament at the BIC. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced the appointment of a one-man commission of enquiry to undertake an investigation of the affairs of the corporation.[6]

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[1] This is an increase over the figures for 1971/72 of 130 loans and R1 082 680. These figures include S.W.A. (Namibia) but exclude figures for the Transkei and Ciskei since 1968 when the XDC was established.

[2] An increase of 58 buildings and R415 539 on the 1971/72 figures.

[3] *Star*, 26 January.

[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 May.

[5] *Sunday Tribune*, 1 September.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development later told the house of Assembly that the BIC was employing 1 021 Whites, of whom 203 were employed at its head office, 59 at its regional office in BophuthaTswana, 64 at its regional office in the Northern Transvaal, 56 at the Natal regional office, and 28 in S.W.A., and the remaining 611 at local offices or in the transport division. On the other hand, BIC was employing 6 804 Africans, of whom 30 were at head office, 17 at the BophuthaTswana regional office, 12 at the N. Transvaal regional office, 21 at the Natal regional office, and 3 in S.W.A., with the remaining 6 721 employed at local offices or in the transport division.[7] No Africans had been appointed directors of the corporation but such appointments were envisaged when separate homeland corporations were established.[8]

In its report for the year ended 31 March 1973, the Xhosa Development Corporation (XDC), the development agency for the Transkei and Ciskei, stated that 837 business and housing loans worth R5 975 071 had been approved in those homelands. This meant an increase of 149 loans and R1 176 445 over 1971/72. Employment figures directly attributable to the XDC's activities were 8 259 (an increase of 1 253 over the 1971/72 figure). The issued share capital of the corporation had increased by R6 000 000 to R33 700 000 at 31 March 1973.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development told Parliament that while the XDC was employing 4 396 Africans, no Xhosa were yet represented on the board of directors. It was envisaged that such appointments would be made when separate homeland development corporations were instituted.[9] The managing director of the XDC, Mr. F. Maritz, later announced that by April 1975 two Africans would have been appointed to the board on the recommendation of the Chief Ministers of the Transkei and Ciskei. A number of candidates were being considered.[10]

In defence of his department's policies and achievements after opposition criticism in Parliament, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the per capita income of Africans within the homelands rose from R54,10 in 1960 to R132,70 per year in 1973, an increase of 145,3 per cent compared with an increase in the consumer price index of 61,9 per cent over the same period.[11]

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[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 September.
[7] Hansard 7, cols. 497—8, 18 September.
[8] Hansard 7, cols. 524—5, 20 September.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 October.
[11] Hansard 7, cols. 3149—50, 17 September.

In an article on *Some Aspects of Industrial Decentralisation in South Africa,*[12] Dr. R. T. Bell pointed out that "the African population increased at a substantially faster rate (in the sixties) in the homelands than in the rest of South Africa. This is in marked contrast with the trend in industrial employment which shows a relatively small increase in the proportion accruing to the border areas and homelands."

Commercial concerns in the African homelands

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that 525 retail trading stations previously owned by Whites in the Transkei had been taken over by official corporations. He also said that 67 000 Africans were being employed in the retail trade in African areas including the Transkei.[13]

The Minister said that 20 hotels or motels in the Transkei had been acquired from Whites, while one had been built by the XDC and another by African interests. A further twelve had been acquired or built by the BIC, and/or the S.A. Bantu Trust, and/or the XDC, and/or African interests in the following homelands: KwaZulu, Lebowa, BophuthaTswana, Gazankulu, Ciskei and Damaraland.[14]

In its Report for the year ended 31 March 1973 the BIC mentioned that it was involved in a large number of commercial undertakings in homelands in S.A. and S.W.A. It had established and was managing a wide variety of enterprises including savings-banks, wholesalers, bottle stores, retail stores, workshops and filling-stations, grain depots, restaurants and cafés, hotels, holiday resorts, cinemas, beer distributors, African art and handcraft centres, and butcheries, and was also involved in an insurance company. It also had a R3 000 000 investment in transport services in seven private companies in which it had a controlling interest. The companies involved had a fleet consisting of 221 buses carrying 1 650 000 passengers a month over 4,5 million kilometres. BIC's own transport undertakings had a fleet of 94 buses and its transport department was employing about 1 000 Africans. Planning to form a company, BophuthaTswana Transport (Pty) Ltd., had reached its final stages and this was likely to double employment opportunities. This aspect of BIC's activities led to a somewhat acrimonious exchange in Parliament.[15]

The XDC reported that as at 31 March 1973 it was still controlling 144 trading stations taken over from White owners but these were all being managed by Xhosa people. A further 350 trading stations had been sold to African owners. The XDC's wholesale undertaking had achieved a turnover of R7 588 987 in 1972/73 compared with R6 018 371 in the previous year. During the year under review 20 Xhosa people were enrolled at the XDC's two training stores to be trained as shop managers while 21 trained people had been placed in positions. Private bus services in the Transkei were under the complete control of Africans. Over a period of five years, 81 loans amounting to R1 532 182 had been made in respect of such services. An association of licensed liquor merchants in the Transkei and Ciskei had been formed at the initiative of the XDC. As a group, the Corporation's hotels were showing steady progress and the Nqamakwe Hotel in the Transkei and the Chalumna and Mount Coke hotels in the Ciskei had been taken over by African businessmen during the year under review.

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[12] *South African Journal of Economics*, vol. 41(4), December 1973, pp. 401—431.
[13] Hansard 4, col. 210, 27 August.
[14] Hansard 2, cols. 65—67, 13 August.
[15] Hansard 2, cols. 991—994, 15 February.

It was announced that the BIC's wholesale undertaking in Umlazi (KwaZulu) was to be taken over by Metro Cash and Carry on the agency basis. This move had the approval of the KwaZulu Government.[16]

Industry in the African homelands

The amounts invested in each homeland on the agency basis by private (White) entrepreneurs were given on page 177 of last year's *Survey*. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave the following figures for such investment during 1973 together with the number of jobs which resulted [17]:

	Amount *R*	*No. of jobs created*
Transkei	857 [18]	875
Ciskei	2 000	80
BophuthaTswana	1 211 000	1 776
KwaZulu	709 000	592
Lebowa	119 000	149
Gazankulu	36 000	115
Venda	279 000	189
BasothoQwaqwa	—[19]	37
Swazi	—[19]	15
		3 828

Further information from the Minister was that 116 S.A. firms had established undertakings in the following homelands: 54 in BophuthaTswana; 17 in KwaZulu; 8 in Lebowa; 1 in Basotho QwaQwa; 3 in Gazankulu; 2 in Venda; 1 in Swazi; 22 in the Transkei; and 8 in the Ciskei. Eleven foreign firms had established undertakings in the following areas: 3 in BophuthaTswana; 3 in KwaZulu; 1 in Lebowa; 1 in Gazankulu; 1 in Venda; 2 in the

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[16] *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 March.
[17] Hansard 3, cols. 124—5, 19 February.
[18] This is almost certainly a Hansard misprint.
[19] It is not clear whether figures were given but omitted from Hansard in error.

Transkei. The S.A. firms were employing 11 249 Africans and the foreign firms 2 195. The total financial commitment of these White entrepreneurs was R31 088 000.[20]

The question of White enterprises in the homelands has received considerable attention in recent years. The BIC with the assistance of homeland leaders undertook a campaign in foreign journals to promote foreign investment in all these areas. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the campaign had cost R23 084 and had consisted of nine insertions of advertisements in the West German *Handelsblatt* and the English *Economist*. The response to the campaign had been 17 enquiries from Germany, 6 from the U.S.A., 5 from England, and one each from Canada, Italy, the Seychelles, Denmark, Kenya and Greece.[21]

In October, the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, announced that homeland governments would be given increased powers over the establishment of White industries in their areas. If these governments so wished they would be able to offer White entrepreneurs permanent arrangements (instead of the previous agency basis). Details of the plan still had to be worked out in consultation with the homeland governments and if agreement was reached the necessary legislative measures would be introduced. Preliminary calculations showed that 34 per cent of the annual revenue of the homelands was derived from statutory funds and 66 per cent was voted by Parliament. Under the new formula 74 per cent would come from statutory funds and 26 per cent from additional funds. Mr. Vorster stressed that the changes were not simply "window dressing" and said the governments would be placed in a better position to plan expenditure programmes and project their revenue.[22]

Also in October, Professor Frederick Tomlinson, chairman of the 1950 commission which later produced the Tomlinson Report and which provided the "blueprint" for separate development, broke a twenty-year silence to criticise aspects of the implementation of the policy. Professor Tomlinson said on the question of White capital being used to diversify the homeland economies: "Because of the pressure of circumstances the Government has supported secondary development since 1970. Our view in this respect was correct but South Africa lost 15 valuable years." The Tomlinson Report had recommended the establishment of a development board to advise on all aspects of homeland development, a view which the Government of the day had rejected. Professor Tomlinson said of this: "I have not the slightest doubt the non-acceptance of this proposal delayed progress . . . At the time the report appeared there was the opportunity to fire great idealism, enthusiasm and support by starting large-scale and ambitious programmes which gripped the imagination and in which the whole population co-operated. Instead we got important but fragmentary and only relatively small-scale efforts up to 1970." [23]

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[20] Hansard 3, col. 120, 19 August and col. 172, 23 August.

[21] Hansard 6, cols. 407—8, 10 September.

[22] *Star*, 3 October.

Professor Tomlinson's criticism was supported by another former member of the Tomlinson Commission, Dr. J. H. Moolman, currently director of the Africa Institute. Dr. Moolman said: "Dr. Verwoerd rejected the use of White capital for homeland development because he feared it may lead to another form of integration. We differed from him and I have always held—with Professor Tomlinson—that this industrial development was not practical without White capital." On the question of a development board or council, Dr. Moolman said: "We wanted something wider than the Department of Bantu Administration because it was doubtful whether such a department was the best to undertake the whole concept of development. Dr. Verwoerd disagreed with us because he felt everything must come from the Bantu Administration Department and himself as Minister." [24]

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that thus far about R34 000 000 had been spent by the State, homeland governments, and other official agencies at growth points in the homelands, as indicated in the accompanying table. The numbers of people employed in manufacturing by the corporations concerned, agents established with the assistance of the corporations and African loanees were: 508 Whites, 67 Coloured people, and 15 345 Africans. Details of persons employed by manufacturers who had not received assistance from the corporations were not available.[25]

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[23] *Ibid*. 24 October.
[24] *Ibid*. 26 October.
[25] Hansard 3, cols. 130—3, 20 August.

Expenditure on Homeland Growth Points

	Babelegi	*Witsieshoek*	*Isithebe*	*Seshego*	*Letaba*	*Butterworth*	*Umtata*
	R	*R*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*R*	*R*
Industrial townships	2 471 140	221 730	2 800 247	78 345	—	1 139 992	213 934
Water schemes	355 247	55 170	220 824	107	—	1 901 486	50 147
Electricity supplies	62 457	33 056	1 022 114	—	—	169 710	21 050
Housing for key White personnel	1 065 700	40 000	865 200	—	—	656 822	3 209 811
Subsidisation of transport for key White personnel	1 396	—	—	—	—	—	—
Erection of factories for leasing	9 573 397	54 420	1 576 817	500 463	557 049	4 136 737	419 036
	13 529 337	404 376	6 485 202	578 915	557 049	8 004 747	3 913 978

The Minister also said that in the year ended 31 March 1973 the XDC had spent R4 874 000 on the economic development of the Transkei and R592 000 on the Ciskei, thereby creating 615 and 638 employment opportunities, respectively. The BIC had spent the following sums in various homelands thereby creating the following new employment opportunities:[26]

Homeland	*Expenditure* R	*Employment created*
BophuthaTswana	4 888 000	2 293
KwaZulu	4 415 000	597
Basotho Qwaqwa	116 100	46
Lebowa	1 144 800	432
Venda	211 200	70
Gazankulu	523 600	119
Swazi	121 500	136
Caprivi	450 000	60
South West Africa	1 844 600	78
	13 714 800	3 831

Industrial production figures in various homelands over the five years 1966 to 1970 were also given to the House of Assembly by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.[27] Those for 1966 and 1970 are given below.

	1966 R	*1970* R
Transkei	3 300 000	4 458 000
Ciskei	496 000	573 000
KwaZulu	2 591 000	3 140 000
BasothoQwaQwa . . .	26 000	29 000
BophuthaTswana . . .	860 000	1 737 000
N.E. Transvaal homelands	1 575 000	1 986 000

In May in an address to the Port Elizabeth Region of the Institute of Race Relations, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, outlined projects in his homeland. These were likely to cost R1 200 000 and create jobs for 3 450 full-time and 1 500 casual workers. The XDC was to open four factories at the Dimbasa resettlement township at a cost of R358 900 while projects worth R800 000 were planned for Alice, Keiskammahoek and Sada.[28]

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[26] Hansard 1, cols. 35—36, 8 February.
[27] Hansard 3, cols. 115—6, 19 February.

— Glen John Chemicals announced the establishment of a tartaric acid plant while Laborbau which manufactures laboratory fittings will also establish an undertaking in the Transkei. The two projects involve investments of some R1 500 000.[29] Pep Stores concluded a R10 000 000 contract with the XDC to establish a blanket and clothing manufacturing complex at Butterworth which will employ 2 000 Africans.[30]

At Babelegi in BophuthaTswana 57 industries have been established with a total private investment of R30 300 000. A landing-strip, a clinic and a filling station are due to be established there.[31] At Thaba 'Nchu Premier Milling and the BIC are building a R5 000 000 milling complex which will provide at least 300 jobs.[32]

An *ad hoc* industrial school was opened at Isithebe in KwaZulu.[33]

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[28] *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 May.
[29] *African Business*, March 1974.
[30] *Bantu*, September.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Sunday Tribune*, 25 August.
[33] *Bantu*, March, 1974. See chapter on Technical Education.

EMPLOYMENT

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

In its annual economic report for the year ended June 1974 the S.A. Reserve Bank stated that the gross domestic product at current prices increased by 22 per cent, compared with 16 per cent in 1972/73.[1] At constant prices, however, the growth rate increased by about 5 per cent compared with 4 per cent the previous year. On the other hand, the *real* gross national product increased at a rate of 10 per cent compared with 6 per cent during the previous year, largely as a result of the terms of trade moving in South Africa's favour. The Reserve Bank went on to say that: "Indications are that the real growth rate for the calendar year 1974 will be one of the highest rates achieved in South Africa in the post-war period" (possibly to a level of 7 per cent). The higher rate of increase in 1973/74 was associated with substantial increases in the remuneration of employees and the operating surplus of the mining, manufacturing and commercial sectors.

Aggregate domestic demand increased at a rate of 25 per cent at current prices or 12 per cent at constant prices, these rates being substantially higher than those for previous years. All the main components of total monetary demand contributed to these high rates of increase and the Reserve Bank commented that "the increase in real domestic expenditure has been one of the major factors responsible for the highly satisfactory growth performance, particularly that of the non-agricultural sectors of the economy".

On the labour front, the Reserve Bank reported that the high rate of increase in economic activity had resulted in a further increase of 3 per cent in non-agricultural employment in the nine months ended 31 March 1974. Unemployment of White, Coloured and Asian workers which had stood at 10 531 in June 1973 declined to 7 995 in June 1974. This represented less than 0,5 per cent of those people actually employed.

A deficit of R241 million in the balance of payments on current account was recorded in 1973/74 compared with a surplus of R200 million during the previous year—a change to be expected in a period of cyclical upswing in the economy. The overall balance of payments, as measured by changes in the country's gold and other foreign reserves, changed from a surplus of R503 million in 1972/73 to a deficit of R361 million during 1973/74, brought about by a deficit on both the current and capital accounts. Normally, in an economic upswing the current account of South Africa's balance of payments is in deficit while the capital account usually has a surplus which enables the economy to grow at a faster rate than would have been possible if it had to rely exclusively on its own financial resources. In 1973/74 the marked growth in the non-agricultural sectors resulted in the expected increase in the demand for imported goods that exceeded the increase in the value of exports attributable to rises in the prices of gold and export commodities, but the usual increase in the net inflow of capital did not materialise. The sharp rise in interest rates in other countries and changes in the exchange rate of the rand, induced an outflow of short-term private capital. Because of these unfavourable developments, the authorities pursued monetary and exchange rate policies directed at restraining the outflow of capital and at promoting, as far as possible, further rapid economic growth.

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[1] The gross domestic product at market prices was provisionally valued at R15 657 million in the calendar year 1972 and R18 694 million in 1973 (S.A. Reserve Bank *Quarterly Bulletin*, June 1974).

Bank rate was increased from 5,5 to 6,5 per cent on 14 January 1974, to 7,5 per cent on 1 June and to 8 per cent on 14 August. Maximum deposit interest rates, as laid down by the interest rate control regulations, were also revised on 14 January and 1 June, resulting in a maximum of 10 per cent on deposits with an original maturity of 24 months or longer. The prime overdraft rate of the commercial banks was lowered from 8 to 7,5 per cent on 16 July 1973, and subsequently raised to 8 per cent on 15 November 1973, 9 per cent on 1 February 1974, and 10 per cent on 1 June. On 1 August the lowest overdraft rate actually charged to the banks' clients was increased to 11 per cent, although the prime overdraft rate itself remained unchanged at 10 per cent. On 14 August the Reserve Bank not only increased Bank rate to 8 per cent but also raised the yield quoted on government stock by 0,5 per cent, resulting in a rate of 7 per cent for short-term stock and 9,75 per cent for long-term stock. Interest rate control on deposits of more than R250 000 per individual depositor was also abolished.

Following the increase in Bank rate, the commercial banks increased their prime overdraft rate to 10,5 per cent effective from 16 August.

In his budget speech on 14 August, the Minister of Finance announced the substitution of a maximum finance charge of 14 per cent for the previous maximum charge of 12 per cent, as laid down by the Limitation and Disclosure of Finance Charges Act, on all money loans exceeding R400. Interest rates and finance charges were increased again in October.[2]

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

General

Some opinion and comment on this question are briefly recorded on pages 173—4 of the 1971 issue, 218—230 of the 1972 issue, and 183—196 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey*.

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[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 October.

The February 1974 issue of the *U.A.L. Economic and Financial Review* published by Union Acceptances Limited contained a brief note presenting what little "hard" information is available on the inflow of foreign funds. This analysis noted that while South Africa's foreign liabilities of R3 000 million in 1959 constituted 63 per cent of that year's gross national product, the R7 786 million of 1972 constituted 52 per cent of that year's g.n.p. The growing importance of the Western European capital markets, particularly as a source of funds for the government and public corporations was shown but it was suggested that established relationships remained dominant. It was also suggested that foreign-controlled companies were models of financial caution, funding their expansion very largely from internally-generated sources.

In an address to the S.A. Foreign Trade Organisation in February, Professor J. Poolman, dean of the Faculty of Economics at the Rand Afrikaans University, expressed the view that "no country can tolerate an entity as powerful as this (the multinational company) in its midst without having a reasonably accurate picture of its activities". For this reason he felt that it was "essential that we start something on the lines of Harvard's Multinational Enterprise Project in this country. Failing this, I am afraid, the time has arrived for the Government to obtain this information by means of a commission of enquiry on the lines of Canada's Task Force."[1] Professor Poolman elaborated upon his views in an interview with the Afrikaans-language weekly, *Rapport*, on 26 May. He pointed out that direct investment by multi-national companies in South Africa had increased from R1 500 million in 1956 to R4 550 million in 1973. This constituted the major portion of all foreign investment in the Republic. These companies were often located in the most profitable branches of the economy and virtually controlled the motor industry, oil, tyres, electrical equipment, computers, office equipment, and pharmaceuticals, etc. They were also strongly represented in food, chemicals, detergents, soft drinks and banking. He pointed out that the intra-company transfer pricing mechanism could be legally employed to evade rigid exchange control measures.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions mounted a campaign in February "to penetrate the worker, to educate him about the position of his fellow employee in South Africa, so that an eventual boycott will be effective". ICFTU is circulating its 150 affiliated unions with a list of companies to "pressurise" in their own particular countries.[2]

During a visit to Europe under the auspices of the United Kingdom South Africa Trade Association and the South Africa Foundation, Mr. S. M. Motsuenyane, president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, stressed the need for

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[1] *Star*, 7 February

[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 February

European businessmen to invest in the homelands, and not to withdraw investment from South Africa as this would leave tens of thousands jobless.[3] In Lusaka, Mr. John Rees, general secretary of the S.A. Council of Churches, told the All African Council of Churches that the S.A.C.C. did not support the policy of disinvestment. Its policy was to support investment tied to some form of improvement in working conditions. Mrs. Sally Motlana, an executive committee member of the S.A.C.C., told the conference: "I do not want you to think that we agree in toto with the investments in South Africa by the West. The subject has been discussed by both young and grown-up Blacks in South Africa. Cutting off the investment would cause them more hardship but they have been enduring that for years and can go on doing so. Bread and blankets are no substitute for human dignity."[4]

In an address to a joint meeting of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Royal African Society in London Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo American Corporation, said that if South Africa was to avoid unemployment there had to be industrial expansion on a great scale—and huge capital investment. He added: "We can, therefore, do very well in South Africa without the efforts of people who seek to help the African by cutting off the inflow of investment capital on which their future welfare depends."[5] The chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu, accused Mr. Oppenheimer "and others who think like him" of short-sightedness and of "compromising with apartheid."[6]

In July the South Africa Foundation published a set of twenty questions which, it said, "are regularly to be found in our enemies' armouries and which constantly confound our friends". Among these questions was: "How can I believe that investment in South Africa involves no great political risk when your tough legislation and so many official actions create the firm impression that there IS real risk?"[7]

Mr. Jan de Necker, chairman of Randbank, warned South African businessmen involved in international trade, finance and investment not to underestimate the immense pressures being brought to bear upon their foreign partners. He said that it was necessary to put our house in order as quickly as possible in order to limit our vulnerability against that day when foreign investors and banks would be forced against their will to cease conducting business with us.[8]

In an article entitled *The Multinational as Catalyst*, Professor Allen Abrahams, a vice-president of the New York Mercantile

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[3] *Star*, 9 April.
[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 May.
[5] *Ibid.*, 8 May.
[6] *Ibid.*, 21 May.
[7] *Ibid.*, 19 July.
[8] *Rapport*, 8 September.

Exchange and a former visiting professor at U.C.T. Graduate School of Business, pointed out that multinationals could have a major impact on improved efficiency through objective hiring practices and a willingness to train and upgrade labour on merit. They could also be expected to assist the S.A. economy by facilitating capital and technology inflows, the latter having perhaps the more significant effect. However, if further expansion of the Government-owned sector of the economy coupled with moves to limit foreign ownership of private industry were to occur it could have negative consequences. Doubts among the multinationals about the long-term political stability of Southern Africa might also be an inhibiting factor. Furthermore, some multinationals might find their S.A. operations increasingly embarrassing in their home countries. Professor Allen expressed the view that there could be little doubt about the action that a "U.S." multinational would take if forced to choose between 22 million "big-spending American Blacks and the minute active market of S.A.". He concluded that despite S.A.'s vast mineral wealth, the evidence suggested that the Republic needed multinationals more than they needed her.[9]

In October the Government introduced the Second General Law Amendment Bill. Among its clauses was one dealing with information supplied abroad on any business in the Republic. When the Bill becomes law, unless the Minister of Economic Affairs grants his permission, "no person shall in compliance with any order, direction or letters of request issued or emanating from outside the Republic, furnish any information as to any business, whether carried on in or outside the Republic". The Bill also provided for a consequential amendment of the Foreign Courts Evidence Act, No. 80 of 1962. Although there was speculation in the press that the Bill had been introduced to protect directors and officials of De Beers against provisions of the U.S. Anti-Trust laws [10], the relevant clause was very widely framed indeed and the penalties for contravention of this provision are R2 000 or two years' imprisonment, or both.

United Kingdom [1]

The enquiry into the wages and working conditions of African workers employed by British firms instituted by the Trade and Industry Sub-Committee of the House of Commons' Select Committee on Expenditure was briefly mentioned on page 188 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey*. The Sub-Committee presented its report in March 1974.[2] During its hearings it received evidence, either oral or written, from 141 British companies with varying degrees of ownership in some 645 affiliated S.A. concerns. About half of the 645 affiliated companies were fully owned, in another third British companies had a majority holding, while in the remaining one-fifth there was a minority interest. Sixty-three of the 141 companies were paying wages to some categories of worker which were below current estimates of the level at which an African family could subsist, but very few companies failed to report wage increases since December 1972, and over half of those giving oral evidence had granted increases (in some instances very substantial increases) in April 1973. Fringe benefits had also been improved and extended since December 1972.

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[9] *Management*, September 1974, pp. 30—35.

[10] e.g. *Financial Mail*, 18 October.

[1] See also the sections on mining and trade unions and the chapter on foreign affairs.

[2] Fifth Report of the Expenditure Committee, Wages and Working Conditions of African Workers Employed by British Firms in South Africa, H.M.S.O.

Among the Sub-Committee's recommendations were:

- That its draft Code of Practice be regarded as a new set of guidelines to British companies with business interests in the R.S.A.;
- That this Code be sent by the Department of Trade and Industry to every British company known to have, or to be contemplating the establishment of, business interests in South Africa;
- That the staff in the Embassy and Department of Trade and Industry, play an active role of seeking out companies in order to encourage and advise them on improvements in employment practices;
- That a review be undertaken of the staff (of the Embassy) in South Africa and the Department of Trade and Industry whose function it is to provide information, assistance and advice to companies, in order that the purposes envisaged be adequately met;
- That the guidelines be regularly revised.

The Sub-Committee went on to say: "It is important that companies should expect future publicity. In this inquiry we have been concerned to understand the situation in some detail and to document the employment practices of British-affiliated companies, both good and bad. Future investigations could concentrate on those companies which do not pursue good employment practices; and, if the policies which we have recommended appear to have failed in their objectives, tougher measures could then be considered. We anticipate that the subject will continue to command the interest and vigilance of the House."

In the wake of the Sub-Committee's report, Christian Concern for South Africa (C.C.S.A.) published a brief résumé of fifty-two company profiles entitled ***British Companies in South Africa.*** The S.A. affiliates of these companies employed some 80 per cent (over 194 000) of the African labour force of the British companies covered by the Sub-Committee's investigation. The majority of these companies were located in the manufacturing sector but they were also represented in mining, finance, commerce, construction, civil engineering, transport and petroleum. In response to C.C.S.A. enquiries certain companies indicated that further wage increases had been granted or were planned in late 1973/early 1974. In some instances these later increases were comparatively substantial.

The Sub-Committee's report and certain of its findings received wide publicity in South Africa.

United States [1]

In mid-1973 the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ (C.C.S.A.) issued a booklet entitled *Partners in Apartheid*. This was compiled by the Rev. Don Morton, a South African Methodist minister in exile. The publication adopted the position "that the continued investment and involvement of foreign corporations in South Africa strengthens the apartheid system and undergirds the oppression of the black majority in that country". For this reason the C.C.S.A. believed "that the United Church of Christ should utilise its moral and economic power to press United States corporations to withdraw from South Africa."

Towards the end of 1973, the Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches published *Church Investments, Corporations and Southern Africa*. This examined some of the issues with which this entire debate is concerned and presented fairly full profiles of fifteen of the largest U.S. corporations involved in Southern Africa together with brief notes on a further thirty-seven, and a list of some 451 companies known to have connections with South Africa and/or South West Africa (Namibia).

The Special Project for Christian Action in Society produced a report in October 1973 on behalf of the United Presbyterian Church of the United States on Standard Telephones and Cables, an associate of I.T.T. This concluded that "in comparison with other South African concerns STC can show favourable conditions of work, wage rates and amenities for blacks . . . There is, however, an element of paternalism in the approach to black workers which is perhaps inevitable, given the social structure of the country . . . One important aspect of the latter . . . is the lack of legally recognised collective bargaining machinery for black workers . . . While STC presents a relatively favourable picture as regards the material and physical circumstances of its black workers, it must be remembered that it has inevitably to accommodate to the basic patterns of the apartheid society, and that its primary motivation is profit-making. It is thus in no position to effect any basic changes in that society and may, indeed, rather be unwittingly bolstering it. In this regard it is of major significance that STC's largest customer is the South African government, that its products are of vital strategic importance to that government, and that it has a virtual monopoly in the production and supply of certain of those products."

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[1] Events and comment in this connection were briefly outlined on pages 223—230 of the 1972 issue and pages 192—195 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey*

The Church Project's campaign (mentioned on pages 225—6 of the 1972 issue and page 193 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey*) to file shareholder resolutions with U.S. companies operating in South Africa entered its third year. Challenges of one kind or another were filed with the following eighteen companies: Chrysler Corporation, Colgate Palmolive, Continental Oil Company, Deere and Company, Engelhard Mineral and Chemicals Corporation, Foote Mineral Company, General Electric Company, Getty Oil, Gillette Company, International Business Machines Corporation, International Harvester Company, Newmont Mining Corporation, Pfizer Inc., Phillips Petroleum Company, Standard Oil Company of California, Texaco Inc., Union Carbide Corporation and Weyerhauser.

Texaco (Caltex Oil) issued a report on its activities in S.A. in response to inquiries from institutions holding Texaco stock. This publication compared employment, wages and fringe benefits in 1962 with the position in this regard in 1972. Wage levels were good by South African standards. Fringe benefits for Black and White workers were on a par while Texaco maintained that although no trade unions or works committees existed among the employees of Caltex Oil, there was no opposition to the establishment of such bodies.

What was notable in the Texaco disclosure was the dramatic decline in African employment of nearly 50 per cent, a smaller but substantial decline in the employment of Coloured employees of some 27 per cent, and a decline of nearly 10 per cent in White employees, between the years 1962 and 1972. Asian employment rose from a small base of 7 to 24 employees in the same period. This reduction was attributed to a worldwide reduction in the number of Caltex employees during 1965—68 caused by increased productivity and automation along the lines of similar practices in the U.S.

In South Africa Mr. Alan de Kock disclosed information on General Motors' employment practices and "social responsibility" at a conference arranged by the South African Institute of Personnel Management in July. G.M. employs 3 960 hourly-rated employees of whom 1 100 are White, 2 050 are Coloured and 810 are African. Their minimum hourly rate (starting) is 56 cents per hour or approximately R109 per month with automatic six-monthly increases until the qualified rate is reached in the lower categories, with a year-end gratuity of between 3 and 7 per cent of basic annual earnings depending upon length of service. At Grade 9 the *minimum* hourly rate rises to R1 or approximately R195 per month. Wage rates in the top grades, 10—12, are "still based on merit and largely influenced by the scarcity and high mobility of skilled labour in S.A. . . . " (G.M. negotiates with the all-White S.A. Yster- en Staal Union and the Coloured National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber

Workers of S.A. The industry is covered by job reservation Determination No. 16 of 1964 although total exemption has been granted to this Determination following agreement between organised employers and organised workers in the industry.) The company also has 36 Coloured and 5 African employees on its salaried staff payroll. White and Coloured workers are represented by their respective unions while a 20-man liaison committee, of whom 15 are elected, represents African workers. This committee meets once a month and has been allowed to appoint the same number of shop stewards as the registered unions. (An African union is in the process of formation in Port Elizabeth and it will be interesting to see how G.M. responds to this development.) Medical benefits are extensive and cover all employees and up to 75% (or 5 278) of the dependants of African and Coloured employees. Other benefits have been progressively extended to cover all employees since 1948 when they were available to White employees only. The company has lent the P.E. Municipality R500 000 to enable it to build 94 houses for Coloured people and has made a further R100 000 available in loans to employees to purchase homes. Because of difficulties with African home-ownership the company donated R218 000 for improving recreational facilities in the African townships plus R40 800 annually for the upkeep of these facilities. It is also in the process of providing a recreation club for Coloured employees at an estimated cost of R112 000 plus R10 000 per year for upkeep. It later lent the Bantu Affairs Administration Board R1 060 000 for the construction of 500 homes plus a primary school for Africans in the Zwide township. The company distributed 1 425 sets of school books and stationery to children of African employees at primary school and awarded 124 high school scholarships to children of Coloured employees, 57 to children of African employees, and 131 to children of White employees.

The Ford Motor Company's minimum wage rates would appear to be on a par with those of G.M. and five Coloured and two African workers in grade 10 are earning the same rates as their 145 White fellows—an average of R354,33 a month. Ford has lent the Port Elizabeth Bantu Administration Board R780 000 to build a 600-house showpiece housing estate in the African township of New Brighton. Ford employees are to be given preferred treatment.[2]

The Bristol-Myers group in South Africa donated R25 000 to *The Star's* Teach Fund for a complete school in the African Township of Soweto.[3]

Western Europe

In the Federal Republic of Germany the Evangelical

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[2] *Sunday Times*, 28 July.
[3] *Star*, 15 March.

Lutheran Churches are engaged in a dialogue with certain German companies with investments in South Africa.[1]

In the Netherlands the Gereformeerde Kerk has stiil to adopt an explicit stance on disinvestment or reformed engagement. Dialogue with Dutch companies investing in South Africa has begun. A report of a study group to the synod held at Lunteren in March maintained that total withdrawal would hit hardest those groups that needed help. For this reason, there was support for the idea of pressing foreign companies in South Africa to improve conditions and hire more Coloured and African labour.[2] In 1973, Dutch trade union federations sent a letter to some 80 of the principal firms in the Netherlands asking for information about their investment policies in South Africa. A number of firms ignored the inquiries and the unions appear to be considering further action.[3] In March, a thirty-six member delegation from the Federation of Christian Employers of the Netherlands visited South Africa in the wake of the World Council of Churches' call for the withdrawal of foreign investment from South Africa. They met a wide variety of groups and individuals. After a 90-minute meeting with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi both parties agreed that foreign investment was important to the future of the economy and the individual Black worker, provided it satisfied certain conditions including equal pay for equal work, the easing of job reservation and the right to organise trade unions.[4] Mr. G. Klinjnstra, chairman of Unilever, rejected allegations made by Professor Jan Verkuyl, one of Holland's leading theologians, that the company was grossly underpaying its Black workers in South Africa. He said that over the last eight months African wages had been increased by 28 per cent against a rise in the cost of living of about 12 per cent. Unilever's minimum Black wage was about R125 and its average R160 per month.[5]

In Denmark, the East Asiatic Company with subsidiaries in South Africa was criticised for its activities in South Africa and agreed to reveal the wages it pays to some 1 100 Black workers.[6]

At the urging of the Swedish Ecumenical Council, the Swedish Federation of Industries has issued guidelines to businessmen with interests in South Africa. These recommend a series of steps to upgrade the status of Black workers, improve their facilities and reduce the existing wage gap over a period of two years. During this period, there will be a continuous feedback of information from the companies to the National Ecumenical Council. A full-scale meeting of the Federation and the Council was to be held in late 1974.[7]

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[1] *Transvaler*, 2 May.
[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 March.
[3] *Star*, 27 March.
[4] *Star*, 8 March.
[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 May.
[6] *Star*, 25 January; *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 May.
[7] *Star*, 26 June; *EcuNews Bulletin*, *14/74*, 13 May.

The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies produced a condensed version of a report by Mr. Ake Magnusson entitled *Swedish Investment in South Africa*. This showed that there were about eight Swedish companies in South Africa located in the sectors of electrical goods and iron, steel and engineering. They were employing about 2 643 people of whom 62 per cent were Black. Swedish marketing companies were employing a further 1 479 people. Two further companies, Volvo and STAB, were indirectly involved through associated companies. In general employment practices seemed to conform to the S.A. "norm", although it was possible that their wage levels were slightly better than average. None of the companies appeared to be making abnormally high profits because of rather intense competition in a relatively limited market.[8]

Three visiting Swiss churchmen from the Swiss Federation of Evangelical Reformed Churches expressed themselves against disinvestment but felt that more "responsibility" should be exercised in this field, and more particularly, that further investment should be directed towards the Homelands.[9]

THE COST OF LIVING

In its annual report the South African Reserve Bank again referred to the pressing problem of inflation. Between June 1973 and June 1974 the consumer price index rose by 11,2 per cent compared with 10,0 per cent during the previous year. During the period 1955 to 1963 the index had risen at an average annual rate of 2,0 per cent and at 3,6 per cent between 1963 and 1971. The increase in food prices (15,0 per cent) and clothing and footwear (15,6 per cent) were important contributory factors but the increased prices of furniture, household equipment, petrol and oil also accelerated appreciably.

Wholesale prices increased at a significantly faster rate, 18,8 per cent, than they had in the previous year when the rate of increase was 13,1 per cent. The prices of goods produced in South Africa accelerated from 13,9 to 18,1 per cent but a larger price increase from 10,7 to 21,0 per cent occurred in prices of imported goods.

Further price increases later in the year, particularly in respect of food, coupled with announcements of substantially increased profits (although these too would have been affected by inflation), provoked alarm and sometimes acrimonious exchanges between consumers, producers, and merchants. The Price Controller promised to refer certain allegations to the Board of Trade and Industry if it appeared that there was substance in any of the charges made.[1] The Department of Commerce later launched an investigation into allegations of collusive price fixing by grocery and food manufacturers.[2]

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[8] Scandinavian Institute of African Studies. Research Report No. 23 (1974). Ake Magnusson. *Swedish Investments in South Africa*.

[9] *EcuNews Bulletin 14/'74*, 13 May.

[1] Extracted from various press cuttings.

The Trade Union Council of South Africa appealed to the Government to reintroduce cost of living allowances and enforce a national minimum wage of R130 per month to combat inflation.[3] The Confederation of Labour also noted with concern the rise in the cost of living and criticised excessive profits,[4] and the Running and Operating Staff Union of the South African Railways attacked apparently arbitrary price increases.[5]

Mr. Harry Schwarz, the United Party spokesman on Finance, pleaded in the House of Assembly for the introduction of an anti-inflation savings bond as a hedge against inflation.[6]

The Secretary of the Department of Statistics announced that a new multiple cost of living index taking into account the expenditure patterns of the various income groups was to be introduced.[7]

The Minister of Transport in introducing his budget announced sharp increases in railway tariffs which would directly affect train fares and indirectly affect prices of other commodities.[8] The rent increases announced by certain Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, mentioned elsewhere in this *Survey*, would also adversely affect African living standards.

The Government introduced a Trade Practices Bill aimed in part at protecting consumers against certain unethical practices.

MINIMUM LIVING STANDARDS

In past issues of this *Survey* estimates of minimum living standards in different areas calculated by various agencies have been provided as they became available. We pointed out in our 1973 issue (pages 197—198) that the question of defining poverty levels had entered a controversial phase. A variety of estimates are still being provided by different agencies. Professor P. A. Nel, Director of the Bureau of Market Research at the University of South Africa, has announced that an attempt is to be made by the various institutions concerned to introduce uniform methods of calculating these standards.[1] Hopefully, the various estimates recorded below, which are causing some confusion at the present time, will fall away and *one* standard will be available in future years. As this *Survey* went to press it was announced that a measure of agreement on a new standard, to be known as the Minimum Living Level (MLL), had been reached by some of the groups involved (*Rand Daily Mail*, 7 November).

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[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 August.

[3] *Star*, 3 May.

[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 August.

[5] *Star*, 10 September.

[6] Hansard 1 cols. 255—7, 7August.

[7] *Star*, 7 September.

[8] Hansard 7, cols. 3174—3177, 18 September.

[1] UNISA, *Bureau of Market Research*. The minimum subsistence level of Non-Whites living in the main urban areas of the Republic of South Africa, May 1974. Research Report 41, p. 10.

Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce

For a number of years the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce has issued estimates of the minimum monthly budget required by an African family of five in Soweto, the African dormitory suburb of Johannesburg. It costs certain items which correspond roughly with what could be regarded as a "conventional" *poverty datum line* and then adds the cost of certain selected items to provide a more adequate measure of living costs. Its estimates for the month of May 1974 compared with the same month in 1973 were [2]:

	May 1973 *R*	*May 1974* *R*	*Percentage increase*
Food	45,89	51,90	13,1
Clothing	11,52	13,20	14,6
Housing	8,50	8,50	—
Fuel and light . . .	4,66	4,94	6,0
Transport	5,98	5,98	—
Taxation	0,97	1,37	41,0
Cleaning materials .	1,02	1,19	16,7
Medical expenses . .	0,51	1,00	96,1
Education	2,53	2,75	8,7
Poverty Datum Line	81,58	90,83	11,3
Furniture	1,71	1,89	10,5
Crockery, cooking utensils, etc. . .	0,60	0,70	16,7
Writing materials, etc.	1,91	2,17	13,6
Amusement and sport	1,22	1,32	8,2
Personal care . . .	1,76	1,87	6,3
Savings for emergencies	2,36	2,64	11,9
	91,14	101,42	11,3

University of Natal, Department of Economics

The Department of Economics at Natal University has been producing a *poverty datum line* for a statistical family of 5,2 Africans in Durban for several years. Its latest estimates for the month of March 1974 compared with the same month in 1973 were [3]:

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[2] Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce. *Family Budget for Blacks, May 1974*. Circular dated 9 July.

[3] University of Natal, *Department of Economics*. Mean poverty datum line index for Africans in Durban, March 1974. Newsletter dated 21 March 1974.

	March 1973 *R*	*March 1974* *R*	*Percentage increase*
Food	69,11	79,51	15,1
Clothing	8,67	12,47	43,8
Cleansing	2,51	2,76	10,0
Fuel and lighting . .	1,88	2,18	16,0
Accommodation . .	6,72	6,72	—
Transport	5,11	5,11	—
Taxation	1,26	1,83	45,2
	95,26	110,58	16,1

It also provides an estimate of the *effective minimum level* which is about fifty per cent higher than the PDL. The March 1974 EML was R166,20 per month. The compilers of the PDL are considering changing certain of their constituent items and will be taking part in the consultation mentioned by Professor Nel and referred to above.

Institute for Planning Research

Professor J. F. Potgieter, Director of the Institute for Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth, has in recent times been providing estimates of the *household subsistence level* for a *hypothetical* African family of six persons, and a *hypothetical* Coloured family of five persons, in various areas. His figures for September 1973, up-dated to March 1974 against the consumer price index are given below[4]:

	March 1974 *R*
Cape Town	
African	89,85
Coloured	103,81
Port Elizabeth	
African	86,06
Coloured	99,19
East London	
African	84,44
Coloured	96,20
Kimberley	
African	79,97
Coloured	89,98
Durban	
African	85,03
Coloured	92,09
Pretoria	
African	89,87
Coloured	99,44
Johannesburg	
African	91,72
Coloured	101,92
Bloemfontein	
African	89,75
Coloured	95,40
Ladysmith	
African	82,29
King William's Town	
African	84,21
Coloured	92,59
Uitenhage and Despatch	
African	84,71
Coloured	94,17

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[4] J. F. Potgieter. *The household subsistence level in the major urban centres of the Republic (March 1974).* Institute for Planning Research, U.P.E., Fact Paper No. 9. (As this *Survey* went to press it was announced that Prof. Potgieter had issued a further report covering October 1974 which gave a new HSL of R107,23 for an African family in Cape Town, and R103,61 in Johannesburg. *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 November.)

Bureau of Market Research

On pages 198—200 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey* we mentioned the Bureau of Market Research's comprehensive publication on minimum living standards. The BMR's research report number 41 of 1974 up-dated 1973 estimates of the *minimum subsistence level* which is very similar to the PDL. This report provided the MSL for numerous different types of households and the components were: food; clothing; compulsory payments such as rent, etc., to local authorities; fuel and light; washing and cleaning materials; transport; medical and dental services and prescribed and patent medicine; education; taxes; replacement of household equipment; and support of relatives (for single households only). The MSL for average-sized households, based on the BMR's 1970 findings on average household size, are as follows:

	May 1973 *R*	*May 1974* *R*	*Percentage increase*
Cape Peninsula			
African	81,34	85,98	5,7
Coloured	77,54	77,73	0,3
Durban			
African	73,11	77,31	5,7
Indian	81,32	82,80	1,8
East London			
African	66,71	71,80	7,6
Johannesburg			
African	66,81	77,37	15,8
Kempton Park			
African	74,33	82,22	10,6
Krugersdorp			
African	68,88	77,58	12,6
Port Elizabeth			
African	71,69	74,74	4,3
Coloured	60,70	65,35	7,7
Pretoria			
African	63,97	73,81	15,4
Uitenhage			
African	76,54	79,83	4,3

INCOME LEVELS AND WAGES

Department of Statistics report no. 02-03-01 gave the following data on the *median family* income of White, Coloured and Asian people, based on the 1970 population census. In that year the median income of White families was R3 774 with twenty-five per cent, or nearly 230 000 families, in receipt of less than R2 450 per year while the upper quartile was in receipt of R5 552 or more. Family income was highest in the Transvaal, followed by Natal, then the O.F.S., with the Cape showing the lowest income.

The median income of Coloured families was R610 with the lowest quartile of nearly 90 000 families having an income of less than R295 and the upper quartile having an income of more than R1 255. Coloured families in Natal were better off than those in the Transvaal which was followed by the Cape, with the O.F.S. showing the lowest median family income of R284.

The Asian median family income was R947 with the lowest quartile in receipt of R548 and the upper quartile receiving R1 589. Family income was higher in the Transvaal than it was in the Cape which was followed by Natal's median income of R841.

Similar information on African family income has not yet been released. However, in the House of Assembly on 8 February, the Minister of Statistics gave the following information on wage movements.[1] He said: "This Government has been in power for 26 years and in these 26 years, from 1948 to 1973, the consumer price index in South Africa has risen by 147%. As against this, the average wage of the White worker in South Africa has risen by 415,6% in this time. The average wage of the non-White has risen by 366,5% over these 26 years. Now one still has to discount and offset the price increases in these years. When this is done, one finds that the true increase, the increase in the buying power of the average White worker's wages in these 26 years has been 108,6%, and 88,8% in the case of the non-Whites. Now let us look at the latest three years, 1970 to 1973. In these years the consumer price index rose by 23,7%. The average wage of the White worker in this country rose by 28,7%. The average wage of the non-White rose by 45,8% in these three years."

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development supported his colleague's argument with the following data.[2] He said that in 1960 the total income of all Africans, excluding foreign Africans, in South Africa amounted to R778,1 million compared with R1 804 million in 1970 and R3 688 million in 1973. "The *per capita* income of all South African Bantu therefore increased from R75 in 1960 to an estimated amount of R166 in 1973,[3] an increase of 121%, while the consumer price index over the same period increased by only half as much, viz. 61,9%." (According to the Minister's per capita figures the total income for 1973 should read R2 688 million instead of R3 688 million—presumably a typographical error in Hansard.)

In a report by the Bureau of Market Research at the University of South Africa, Mr. J. J. A. Steenekamp has calculated the following annual monetary and real income growth rates for average Black households from 1964 to 1970:

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[1] Hans. 1 cols. 416—417.

[2] Hans. 7, col. 3149, 17 September.

[3] These are yearly income figures giving monthly figures of R6,25 and R13,83 respectively.

	Monetary	*Real*
African	6,61	3,18
Coloured	8,33	4,77
Indian	8,88	5,31

The report predicts that if these growth rates are maintained, the average monetary income of urban Blacks will double within ten years while their average real income should double in twenty years' time.[4]

A survey conducted by Quadrant International S.A. (Pty) Ltd. in 1973 indicated that the *per capita* earnings of Africans in Soweto amounted to R16,70 per month or about seven times less than the White Johannesburg earnings of R114 per month. Moreover, the Soweto *per capita* earnings figure was double that of the rural African which was R7,60 per month. It was not surprising, therefore, that by far the most prominent factor in the list Soweto residents gave of problems facing their families was "not enough money".[5]

The findings of a further survey conducted by the Natal Employers' Association[6] indicated that there had been a considerable improvement in the African wage structure in Natal since the 1973 strikes.[7] The average *minimum* wage for "all Natal areas" was R18,10 per week in May 1974 compared with R11,16 in January 1973 (an increase of 62 per cent which remains significant even if offset against rises in the consumer price index in Durban and in Pietermaritzburg in the intervening period). Average *gross* earnings of African workers for "all areas" were R24,28 a week compared with R19,96 the previous year (a 22 per cent increase).

Urwick-UAL International's analysis of 53 000 salaries in over 170 companies between 1 August 1973 and 1 March 1974 indicated that in those seven months White salaries rose by nearly 9 per cent or roughly the same amount as the preceding year. The rate of increase in Coloured wages had doubled to over 15 per cent while Asian wages increased by 10 per cent. African wages had risen by just under 16 per cent compared with an increase of 25 per cent in the preceding year. Unskilled African labourers were earning an average of R70 per month but this varied widely from a surprisingly low figure of R65 in Johannesburg to R70 in the Eastern Province, R77 in the Western Province, R82 on the East Rand and R89 in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Semi-skilled Africans earned R90 per month on average country-wide while Coloured men in similar jobs earned about R100. White operators earning about R300 per month earned twice as much as Coloured and nearly three times as much as Africans in one of the few categories where there was a racial overlap. Similarly, Coloured and Asian clerks earned about two-thirds the wage of their White counterparts at R240 per month while Africans received only a half of that amount.[8]

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[4] J. J. A. Steenekamp. *Changes in the income and expenditure patterns of multiple urban Non-White households* Pretoria, B.M.R., 1973, research report no. 36.

[5] *Star*, 11 January.

[6] *Financial Mail*, 14 June.

[7] See pages 281—286 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey*.

A later survey of Black wages undertaken by Urwick-UAL covered 230 000 Blacks employed in over 100 job categories by more than 340 companies during the period September 1973 to June 1974. The largest group surveyed was 120 000 unskilled African men with a *median* wage of R65 to R70 per month. The median wage of African machine operators was just over R80 per month with some 10 per cent earning over R120 per month. Artisan assistants also had a median wage of R80 per month. The survey showed "typical" increases of 5 to 15 per cent in median wages, depending upon the job category, and 11 to 15 per cent in "upper quartile" wages.[9]

In an address delivered at a conference held by the National Development and Management Foundation, Mr. W. Langschmidt, managing director of Market Research Africa, said: "The wage gap between White and Black has not closed significantly, although it might be closing fractionally in the metropolitan areas . . . There is no chance of bluffing ourselves . . . Africans cannot buy food with percentages. They need hard cash." Mr. Langschmidt illustrated his point with the following table:[10]

	Claimed Monthly Household Income		*Percentage increase*	*Increase in Rand per month*
	1962	*1973*		
	R	*R*		*R*
White . .	258	519	101	261
Indian .	91	195	114	104
Coloured	60	143	138	83
African .	25	55	120	30

Professor Arnt Spandau, head of the Department of Business Economics at the University of the Witwatersrand, said in his inaugural address on *Income policy and distributive justice* "the Economic Development Programme needs to be complemented by an incomes policy. I envisage the setting up of a South African incomes board." The main functions of this board would be to work towards increases in the real living standards of Blacks; to curtail inflation; to improve the job absorption rate of unemployed Blacks; and to extend social security services. Professor Spandau felt that this Board "should not play the role of a policeman, nor should it intervene in the price and employment decisions of particular individuals, businesses or trade unions as this might raise constitutional objections. The board would, however, be empowered to undertake research and enquiries, to issue reports on current trends and prospects related to employment, prices and wages and to issue guidelines in the field of the formation and the distribution of income." [11]

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[8] *Financial Mail*, 19 April

[9] *Financial Mail*, 9 August

[10] *Star*, 31 July

WAGE REGULATING MACHINERY

Attention has come to be focused more sharply in recent years upon the White/Black "wage gap" in South Africa. The State President observed in his address to Parliament that: "Active steps are being taken to improve the wages of unskilled workers, and the job-content of various occupations is continually being reappraised with the result that opportunities are being created for the improvement of the skills and earning potential of less skilled employees." [1] The evidence for a significant upward movement in Black wages, both monetary and real, seems incontrovertible although the absolute level of the minimum wages of unskilled workers remains low and, on average, the White/Black wage gap expressed in monetary terms continues to widen in nearly all sectors of the economy. The Black strikes in 1973 and 1974, coupled with the closer attention being paid to these issues across a wide spectrum of political opinion in the Republic and those countries which are her principal associates in terms of trade and investment have contributed towards this advance.

On 27 October the Minister of Labour said that there were 185 industrial council agreements in force but these included, besides *main* agreements, agreements which provided specifically for benefits such as pension or provident funds, medical aid and training schemes and other benefits. There were also two conciliation board agreements, 69 wage determinations and 5 orders made under the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act in force. The numbers of workers covered by these instruments were [2]:

	White	*Coloured*	*Asian*	*African*
Industrial council agreements . . .	206 080	209 932	66 753	571 492
Conciliation board agreements . . .	24	628	—	2 955
Wage determinations .	130 788	55 235	18 743	320 202
Bantu Labour Regulations Act orders . .	474	4 231	3 155	110 951
	337 366	270 026	88 651	1 005 600

This means that the salaries and wages of at least 1 701 643 workers were covered by statutory *minimum* wage regulating instruments in terms of the relevant labour legislation. This shows an increase of nearly 200 000 on the figures given by the Minister in 1973. These wage regulating measures do not apply to farm workers, domestic workers in private households, officers of Parliament, or State employees. Further, the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act excludes, as well, Africans employed by the South African Railways and provincial administrations, or on gold and coal mines, although the State President may apply the Act to the latter. The rates of remuneration of apprentices, too, with the exclusion of farm and domestic workers and apprentices in the Defence Force, fall outside the ambit of the abovementioned legislation, and are prescribed by the Minister of Labour in terms of the Apprenticeship Act. Skilled African building workers and learners registered in terms of the Bantu Building Workers' Act have their wages determined by the Minister in terms of the Act.

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[11] *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 May.

[1] Hansard 1, col. 17, 2 August.

[2] Hansard 12, cols. 775—6, 22 October. (The figures in respect of wage determinations reflect the position at the time of the Wage Board's investigation of the particular industry or trade. The actual number of workers covered could, thus, be much higher.)

The Minister of Labour said that the efforts of the Central Bantu Labour Board during 1973 had resulted in wage increases amounting to R60 million being granted to 400 000 African workers.[3] (This amounts to an average *per capita* increase of R2,88½ per week—87,5 per cent higher than the estimated 1972 increase given by the Minister.)

Industrial Councils

The *Financial Mail* lists the names and addresses of industrial councils in its annual *Business Diary*.

The Industrial council system is established in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act which is the principal statute regulating relations between employers and their workers. An industrial council in any industry or trade is the agency through which employers and their White, Coloured and Asian workers, organised into *registered* and officially recognised trade unions, bargain collectively at fairly regular intervals. African interests during negotiations which could affect them are bureaucratically represented by the Central Bantu Labour Board or (White) Bantu Labour Officials but this representation was extended by the 1973 amendment to the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act which empowered the Secretary for Labour to permit African members of works committees to sit in on industrial council meetings.[4] (It is important to note that the representatives of African workers, whether White officials or works committee members, do not have voting rights on an industrial council. Their last resort if they have serious objections to proposals affecting their interests is an appeal to the Minister of Labour.)

This system is often referred to as "self-government in industry" because it provides a bureaucracy for the industry or trade concerned which administers and enforces any agreement reached between the parties to the council and sanctioned by the Minister of Labour. The Minister has the power to extend the provisions of an agreement reached by the parties to all other employers and workers, including African workers, in the industry or trade in the relevant area. This he invariably does, thereby ensuring that employers pay minimum wage rates to African and other workers although they were not party to the negotiations. The Minister, however, habitually excludes Africans from any provisions relating to the deduction of trade union dues or the appointment of *agents*—a form of law-enforcement officer—of the industrial council.

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[3] Hansard 7, cols. 3015—6, 16 September.
[4] See pages 286—291 of last year's *Survey*.

Several new agreements were either being negotiated or were published in 1974. A few of these call for comment.

In the Transvaal, the Garment Workers' Union of S.A., representing 7 000 White, Coloured and Asian workers, together with the *unofficial* National Union of Clothing Workers representing 18 000 African garment workers, entered negotiations involving a R4 000 000 wage demand with the Transvaal Clothing Manufacturers' Association. The employers conceded increases of 30 per cent for beginners and 20 per cent for qualified workers with further increases spread over three years. The agreement has yet to be published but learners' wages remain low in what is a low-wage industry, subject to fairly intense inter-provincial and rural/urban competition.[5]

At the negotiations initiated by the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (employers' association) through the National Industrial Council for the Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industry, Mr. Hugh Tindale, chairman of the Central Bantu Labour Board, pleaded for a minimum rate of R20 per week for rate I employees (unskilled labour). On the other hand, the *registered* unions which are amongst the most powerful White and/or Coloured unions in the Republic had asked for a minimum rate of 40 cents an hour (R18 to R18,40 per week). The amending agreement which issued from these negotiations fixed a minimum rate of between 38 and 39 cents an hour, depending upon the sub-sector of the industry, which gives weekly wages of R17,10 or R17,48 and R17,55 or R17,94, respectively, depending upon whether a 45 or 46 hour week is worked. This represented about a twenty per cent increase for unskilled labour since the previous rates had been gazetted some four months earlier. These increases are particularly significant as the sector employs about 250 000 African workers and the semi-skilled categories also received increases.[6]

In August employers and organised workers entered negotiations for a new agreement for the motor assembly industry in the Eastern Province. Africans were represented at these negotiations by the regional Bantu labour committee augmented for the first time by representatives of the liaison committees established by General Motors, Ford, Volkswagen and Citroën. The augmented regional Bantu labour committee presented demands for a new minimum rate of 50 cents an hour, while the all-White S.A. Yster-, Staal- en Verwante Nywerhede-Unie demanded 56 cents, and the (Coloured) National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers demanded a minimum rate of 60 cents an hour.[7] Negotiations were still proceeding when this *Survey* went to press.

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[5] *Star*, 5 February, 14 May; *Rand Daily Mail*, 14, 15, 17 May.

[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 May and 14 August; *Financial Mail*, 30 May; *Rapport*, 2 June; *Government Gazettes* 4348/9, 2 August.

By the middle of October the most progressive wage agreement negotiated was that in the Transvaal tobacco industry where the National Union of Cigarette and Tobacco Workers, after consultation with two small *unregistered* African unions in the industry, obtained a minimum wage for unskilled Africans of R23,10 for a 42 hour week (R100,10 a month). This was the first wage regulating instrument in South Africa to provide a minimum wage of over R100 per month for unskilled labour and it also eliminated the differential between men and women in the lower categories.[8]

Conciliation Board Agreements and Arbitration Awards

These are special *ad hoc* instruments arising out of industrial disputes. They are not necessarily published in the *Government Gazette*. The only published instruments still in force, Conciliation Board Agreements, as at 15 October 1974 were: Tobacco Manufacturing Industry, Oudtshoorn and Calitzdorp, published under Government Notice No. R237 of 25 February 1972 and due to expire on 28 February 1975, and worsted textile manufacturing industries in the municipal area of Uitenhage, published under Notice No. R1787 of 20 January 1973.

Wage Board

In terms of the Wage Act the Minister of Labour makes a wage *determination* consequent upon the Wage Board's recommendations after it has investigated an industry, trade or occupation. He is also empowered, in terms of the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act, to make an *order* embodying the Wage Board's recommendations after it has investigated the issues at stake in an industrial dispute involving African workers. Further, the Minister may, in terms of the latter Act, make an *order* embodying the proposals of a *sufficiently representative* group of employers in respect of minimum wages and/or conditions of employment, after consulting the Wage Board and the Central Bantu Labour Board.

In October 1973 the S.A. Institute of Race Relations issued an inventory of determinations and orders current at the end of June 1973.[9] This indicated that of the 74 determinations and orders in force at that time, 11 had been in force for less than one year, 15 were between one and two, 11 were between two and three, 16 were between three and five, and 15 were between five and ten years old, while a further six had seen the passage of ten years or more. During the Black strikes in the first half of 1973 the Minister instructed the Wage Board to investigate, and submit recommendations of revision for, five existing determinations relating to unskilled labour in a series of industries in the principal urban areas.[10] This would appear to have led to an increase in the tempo of investigation of those industries where the workers tend to be unorganised, which the Board usually re-investigates at irregular intervals. For instance, the Minister made eight determinations in 1972,[11] but in 1973 no fewer than twenty-two determinations or orders were replaced or revised, and in the first nine months of 1974 a further ten instruments were replaced or revised.[12]

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[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 July and 22 August.

[8] *Financial Mail*, 4 October.

By the end of September 1974, there were 71 determinations or orders in force, several obsolete instruments having been cancelled. Of these, 18 had been in force for less than a year, 16 were between one and two, 10 were between two and three, 13 were between 3 and 5, and 12 were between 5 and 10 years old. Only two had seen the passage of more than ten years. Moreover, all twelve instruments which were between five and ten years old were being investigated, as were four of the thirteen instruments that were between three and five years old.

In determinations made in 1974 the following "floor", with slight variation, was being set to the minimum wages of unskilled, adult, male labourers in the principal urban areas:

Area	*Weekly Minimum Wage* *R*
Cape Town	15,50
Durban, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria and the Witwatersrand	14,00
Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Pietermaritzburg . . .	13,00
East London	11,00

The highest prescribed minima for purely unskilled workers in force as at 15 October 1974 were contained in determinations 262 (roadmaking), 276 (civil engineering), and 348 (stevedoring). The male labourers' *minimum* rate in Cape Town in the first two instruments was fixed at 40 cents an hour (R18,40 for a forty-six hour week) and the stevedore's rate was fixed at R18,50 in the same city.

In 1974 the regional offices of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations in Cape Town, Durban, East London, Johannesburg and

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[9] Laura Metter, *et al.* Wage Determinations current in S.A. at 30 June 1973. Johannesburg, S.A.I.R.R., 1973.
[10] See page 210 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey*.
[11] Report of the Department of Labour for the year ended 31 December 1972 (R.P. 92/73). p. 12.
[12] Metter *et al. Op Cit.* revised to 15 April 1974 and updated to 30 September 1974.

Port Elizabeth submitted evidence to the Wage Board during investigations of the catering trade (certain areas), the fish processing industry, and the woodworking industry.

The new chairman of the Central Bantu Labour Board, Mr. Hugh Tindale, a former chairman of the Wage Board, argued for a new minimum of R16 a week rising to R19 over three years at investigations of the milling and tea, coffee and chicory industries in the first quarter of 1974.[13]

Brief comment on the Board's investigation of the commercial distributive trade was given on pages 245—6 of the 1972, and page 212 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey*. The National Union of Distributive Workers and the National Union of Commercial and Allied Workers submitted an unusual and unprecedented request to the Minister of Labour in February for an increase in the minimum rates prescribed in the recently gazetted determination No. 356 which had only come into effect at the end of October 1973. The unions maintained that massive increases in the cost of living in recent times justified their request. The president of the N.U.D.W., Mr. Morris Kagan, addressing his union's annual conference in April, pointed out that, "During the lengthy period of the wage Board's investigation the cost of living rose rapidly, yet there is nothing to indicate that the board made any provision for this factor in recommending the new minimum rates" . . . He said that the Wage Board machinery was "ridiculously and dangerously slow" for prevailing conditions.[14] The Minister of Labour rejected the unions' plea.[15]

In July the Department of Labour issued two notices embodying the Wage Board's recommendations in respect of workers employed by people engaged in the trade of letting flats or rooms. In some instances the board's proposals would more than double the existing (1965) rates prescribed for adult, male labourers. For instance, if the Minister accepted the proposals the Johannesburg rate for flat-cleaners would rise from R30,20 in 1965 to R61 when the determination was put into effect, an increase of some 102 per cent in what would probably amount to a little over nine years. Certain of the biggest Johannesburg flat-owners dismissed staff in the wake of the publication of these notices, but the Trade Union Council of South Africa and Labour Department inspectors intervened in some instances to ensure that dismissed workers received what was legally theirs.[16]

In a statement on labour policy and employment practices the S.A. Institute of Race Relations expressed the view that:"With its present composition, the Wage Board cannot review wage determinations as frequently as desirable. It should be considerably enlarged and sub-divided, with each section operating under its own chairman. Its membership should not be restricted to Whites. The Board should be provided with adequate machinery for obtaining and processing the necessary information." [17]

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[13] *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 March.
[14] *Sunday Times*, 21 April.
[15] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 June.
[16] *Rand Daily Mail*, 2—4, 7, 10—11 September. *Star*, 3, 4, 6, 11 September.

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The Minister of Statistics gave the following *estimates* of the economically active population in June 1974 [1]:

Race	*Number*	*Percentage*
White	1 673 000	18,4
Coloured	807 000	8,9
Asian	208 000	2,3
African	6 389 000	70,4
	9 077 000	100,0

From these *estimates* it would appear that between the end of 1972 and the middle of 1974 the economically active population increased by 66 000 White workers (4,1 percent), 53 000 Coloured workers (7 percent), 11 000 Asian workers (5,6 percent), and 259 000 African workers (4,2 percent).

The *Financial Mail* issued its annual supplement *Top Companies* on 24 May. This contained *inter alia* a list of the numerically most important employers of labour (excluding statutory bodies, mining groups and unquoted companies). The numbers of Black workers employed by these companies ranged from under 1 000 to Barlow Rand's 47 215.

African labour bureaux

The following numbers of African workers were registered in each defined category of labour at local and district bureaux during 1973 [2]:

	Local Bureaux		*District Bureaux*		
	S.A. Nationals	*Foreign Africans*	*S.A. Nationals*	*Foreign Africans*	*Total*
1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing	90 929	3 202	342 848	19 568	456 547
2. Mining and quarrying (including mines affiliated to the Chamber of Mines)	139 446	352 188	64 999	58 571	615 204
3. Manufacturing	575 920	10 803	27 659	849	615 231
4. Construction	239 388	5 968	42 192	2 410	289 958
5. Wholesale and retail trades	240 517	3 041	5 489	79	249 126
6. Public service (including statutory bodies)	357 770	9 465	17 463	391	385 089

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[17] RR. 125/74.

[1] Hansard 6 col. 400, 9 September.

[2] Hansard 13 cols. 820—822, 29 October.

7. Domestic servants	551 536	8 212	67 989	515	628 252
8. Other	187 973	4 786	5 366	154	198 279
	2 383 479	397 665	574 005	82 537	3 437 686

In February, the Black Sash published the third revised edition of the *Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Influx Control*. This provides a useful succint description of that body of law which controls and regulates the movement of hundreds of thousands of African workers, together with brief case studies of the various ways in which the application of these laws and regulations affects contract workers.

The July issue of the *S.A. Labour Bulletin* (vol. 1, no. 4) devoted several articles to the question of migrant workers and the evils attendant upon the system.

In August the Black Sash held a consultation on migrant labour. At this meeting Dr. Francis Wilson said that at the national level little could be done at the present time. He suggested that strategies for the phasing out of migrant labour should be directed to the local level.

Non-Africans registered as unemployed

The Minister of Labour gave the following figures for persons registered as unemployed in nine of his department's inspectorate areas at the end of December 1973 [1]:

	Total	*White*	*Coloured*	*Asian*
Professional and semi-professional	104	74	9	21
Administrative and clerical	1 931	1 486	228	217
Commercial	647	426	114	107
Skilled trades	612	194	316	102
Services	408	230	130	48
Transport	304	71	136	97
Operators (semi-skilled)	1 327	197	761	369
Unskilled	1 630	397	1 075	158
Other categories	188	178	10	—
	7 151	3 253	2 779	1 119

Most of the White unemployed, 85 percent, were located in Johannesburg, Durban, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, while 70 percent of the Coloured unemployed were in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley, and Durban, predictably, contained over 93 percent of the Asian unemployed.

The 1973 figure showed a decline of 2 805 (or 28 percent) over the 1972 figure in the Non-African unemployed and constituted about 0,3 percent of economically active persons.

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[1] Hansard 3 cols. 152—3, 20 August.

African unemployment

It remains difficult to obtain reliable data on the extent of unemployment and underemployment among the African population. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that there were 60 216 Africans (38 157 in the homelands alone) *registered* as unemployed in June 1973.[2] The Minister had no figures readily available for the Transkei.[3]

Unemployment Insurance

In March the State President gazetted the Unemployment Insurance Amendment Act (No. 12 of 1974).[4] The Minister of Labour brought its provisions into operation on 1 July.[5] This raised the earnings level of contributors from R4 264 a year (R82 a week) to R5 460 a year (R105 a week) thus keeping many of the upper echelons of workers (semi-skilled and administrative) within the scope of the principal Act. It did not alter the provisions relating to the "floor" for Africans of R546 a year (R10,51 a week). This is the notch at which many Africans first begin to qualify as contributors and thus as potential beneficiaries. However, many of the new wage regulating instruments introduced in 1973 and 1974 brought the minimum rates for unskilled African male labourers to this or a higher wage level. Significant numbers of African women in unskilled categories would still be excluded, however.

The Minister of Labour said that at the end of December 1973 the accumulated funds of the Unemployment Insurance Fund amounted to R167 276 059 (an increase over 1972 of R8 653 683). It had paid out R20 203 119 in benefits during 1973 (an increase over the 1972 figure of R670 139).[6] In that year, 94 127 employers were registered with the fund and 2 268 000 workers were contributing to it.[7]

Dr. G. F. Jacobs, the U.P. spokesman on labour matters, mentioned that the benefits payable in terms of the U.I.F. seemed completely inadequate. Further, that while Whites waited for between two and four weeks between claiming and receiving benefits, Blacks had to wait between five and six weeks.[8]

The following table gives a broad breakdown of contributors' income brackets, weekly contributions, benefits payable, contributors in 1972 and amounts contributed in that year. There were some 8 688 000 economically active persons in 1972. This means that some 23 percent of workers were covered by this form of social security.

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[2] Hansard 2 cols. 85—6, 15 February.

[3] See pages 180—181 of last year's issue of this *Survey* for official Transkeian estimates of employment potential and job creation in the Transkei.

[4] Government Notice No. 361 of 8 March.

[5] *Ibid*. No. 72 of 1974.

[6] Hansard 4 col. 211, 27 August.

[7] Hansard 9 col. 613, 10 October.

[8] Hansard 2 cols. 943—45, 14 February. (The unemployment benefits payable to all but the two lowest of the fourteen categories of contributor range between 61 percent of a worker's weekly salary in the lower echelons, and 19 percent in the upper echelons.)

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE FUND*

Group	Earnings R. per week	Employer's contribution Cents per week	Employee's contribution Cents per week	Benefit payable R. per week	No. of contributors 1972	Employees' contributions 1972 R	Employers' contributions 1972 R
1.	Up to 4,50	1	1	Up to 2,45	16 381	8 518	8 518
2.	4,51— 7,50	2	2	Up to 3,50	44 925	46 722	46 722
3.	7,51—10,50	3	3	4,55	85 827	133 889	133 889
4.	10,51—13,50 [10]	4	4	5,60	398 755	829 408	829 408
5.	13,51—16,50	5	5	6,65	276 630	719 236	719 236
6.	16,51—19,50	6	6	7,70	143 718	448 400	448 400
7.	19,51—22,50	7	7	8,75	104 044	378 719	378 719
8.	22,51—25,50	8	8	9,80	95 471	397 159	397 159
9.	25,51—28,50	8	9	10,85	60 850	284 778	253 136
10.	28,51—31,50	8	10	11,90	65 057	338 296	270 637
11.	31,51—34,50	8	11	13,30	52 248	298 858	271 352
12.	34,51—50,00	8	12	15,40	306 952	1 915 380	1 276 920
13.	50,01—65,50	8	13	17,50	175 052	1 183 351	728 216
14.	65,51—105 [11]	8	14	20,30	173 222	1 261 055	720 604
					1 999 132	8 243 769	6 482 916

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* Compiled from page 217 of last year's *Survey* and figures given by the Minister of Labour in Hansard 3 col. 126, 19 February.

[10] Africans enter here.

[11] "Ceiling" was R82 in 1972.

In its labour policy statement mentioned earlier, the S.A. Institute of Race Relations called for the removal of racial discrimination in the Unemployment Insurance Act and extension of its coverage to agricultural, domestic and mine workers.[12]

RESERVATION OF WORK

No new job reservation determinations were promulgated in the years 1972—1974, inclusive.

In February the Minister of Labour told the House of Assembly [1] that an estimated 2,6 per cent of the Republic's labour force was potentially affected by work reservation determinations made in terms of section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act. Exemptions granted on an individual basis from work reservation determinations in 1973 allowed 4 787 Black employees to move into reserved occupations. Of the 27 determinations made since 1956 when the provision was enacted, 26 were still in force in 1973. The only instances in recent times where applications for exemptions had been refused were in the building industry in urban areas of the Transvaal and O.F.S., and in the liquor and catering trade in the municipal area of East London. In the former, 28 out of 178 applications in 1972 and 32 out of 249 in 1973 had been refused, while in the latter one of 12 applications in 1973 had been refused. The Minister gave the following description of 1973 exemptions and the numbers of Black workers affected:

Determination No.	*Industry*	*Number of Workers Affected*		
		Coloured	*Asian*	*African*
1.	Clothing Industry—R.S.A. (replaced by Determination No. 8)	—	—	—
2.	Municipal Undertaking—Durban. (Driving of m/v. in the cleansing dept.)	—	65	—
3.	Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industries—R.S.A. (Manufacture of window or door metal surrounds, Cliscoe windows, Airlite louvres, etc.)	At the request of the employer and employee parties, who agreed, the provisions were suspended for the currency of the agreement.		
4.	Municipal Undertaking—Cape Town. (Traffic Police, Ambulance Services and Fire Brigade Depts.)	58	—	—
5.	Passenger lift attendants in various industries and undertakings—Municipal areas of Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Pretoria.	—	—	—
6.	Building Industry—Urban areas of the Transvaal and Orange Free State	720	—	14
7.	Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industries—R.S.A. (Various activities)	Provisions suspended during currency of an agreement between employer and employee parties.		
8.	Clothing Industry—R.S.A.	—	—	1 298

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[12] RR 125/74

[1] Hansard 2 cols 60—64, 12 February

Determination No.	*Industry*	*Number of Workers Affected* *Coloured*	*Asian*	*African*
9.	Municipal Undertaking—Springs (Health Dept.)	—	—	—
10.	Road Passenger Transport Industry—Cape Peninsula. (Drivers and Conductors.)	·630	—	—
11.	Motor Vehicle Driving—Certain industries. Magisterial districts of Odendaalsrus, Ventersburg, Virginia and Welkom.	—	—	—
12.	Certain work in abattoirs and in the Wholesale meat trade—Witwatersrand and Pretoria.	—	—	230
13.	Building Industry—Cape Province and Natal.	214	106	—
14.	Liquor and Catering Trade (work of barmen)—Municipal areas of Durban and Pietermaritzburg.	—	119	—
15.	Motor Vehicle Driving—Magisterial district of Durban.	2	280	28
16.	Motor Assembly Industry—R.S.A.	Numbers not known because total exemption was granted to four employees in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage following agreement with the trade union. Other exemptions were granted on a percentage basis.		
17.	Liquor and Catering Trade (Certain work) Western Cape and Natal.	—	—	486
18.	Footwear Industry—R.S.A.	—	—	—
19.	Driving of Motor vehicles, road construction machines and earth-moving machines—Transvaal, O.F.S. and Natal.	—	3	16
20.	Furniture Industry—R.S.A.	—	—	—
21.	Motor Vehicle Driving (certain industries)—Certain magisterial districts in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.	—	—	406
22.	Motor Vehicle Driving—Union Liquid Air Co., Transvaal and O.F.S.	—	—	—
23.	Liquor and Catering Trade (work of barman) Western Cape.	11	—	—
24.	Liquor and Catering Trade (work of barman)—Municipal area of East London.	9	6	—
25.	Motor Vehicle Driving—Divisional Council of Port Elizabeth.	6	—	—
26.	Motor Assembly Industry—Magisterial District of Pretoria.	—	—	—
27.	Mining Industry (work connected with sampling, surveying and ventilation)—R.S.A.	—	—	80
		1 650	579	2 558

It is obvious that with the "blanket" exemptions to determinations 3,7 and 16, considerably more than 4 787 Black workers would have been employed in reserved occupations in 1973.

The Minister divulged further information on the way in which "blanket" exemptions are granted.[2] In the iron, steel, engineering and metallurgical industries the two determinations, Nos. 3 and 7 were suspended during the currency of agreements made by the employer and employee parties to the national industrial council for that industry. The parties had originally given an undertaking to entrench work reservation in the relevant agreements. (Revised agreements are negotiated at regular intervals between the very powerful employer group and some of the more powerful *registered* unions in the Republic, through the national industrial council. Over the last five years there has been considerable relaxation, affecting thousands of Black workers, of jobs at the lower end of the reserved occupations list while those at the upper end remain the preserve of the labour aristocracy. The relaxation has been achieved through very hard bargaining.)

Determination No. 16 covering the motor assembly industry had been suspended in respect of certain firms. The request for suspension had originally emanated from the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers of S.A. and the S.A. Yster-, Staal- en Verwante Nywerhede Unie, after these parties had agreed privately to provide for job reservation prior to the establishment of an industrial council for the industry. Subsequent requests had come from the industrial council concerned.

The Minister said that there was a specific understanding that job reservation would be re-applied should it appear that White workers' interests were not protected. Representations for the abolition of Determinations 14 and 17 in so far as they applied to the liquor and catering trade in Natal had been made by the relevant industrial councils in May and June 1974. These were being considered.

On the question of prosecutions for contravention of job reservation provisions, the Minister of Labour told the House of Assembly that in the first six months of 1974, one hundred and twenty-three employers had been prosecuted for illegally employing 222 workers in the building industry.[3] Further, that since 1 April 1973 there had been a total of 431 prosecutions and 259 convictions in terms of this section, and the outcome of 46 prosecutions was not yet known (Hansard 10, cols. 713—4, 11 October).

In February, a spokesman for the Confederation of Metal and Building Unions said that member unions were prepared to assist the Johannesburg City Council by training Coloured and Indian workers as fitters and turners, electricians and building artisans *for work in their own areas* provided that the rate for the job was strictly applied, that future job prospects for White artisans were not endangered, and that there would be continued employment *in their own areas* for Blacks who received artisan training. The CMBU spokesman also criticised the City Council for having engaged African electricians at a wage of R1 200 a year—about a third of the going rate for White electricians.[4]

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[2] Hansard 3, cols. 187—8, 23 August.
[3] Hansard 10, col. 716, 11 October.

A Boksburg upholsterer was fined R60 in June for employing two Africans in reserved occupations without exemption from the relevant industrial council. He was later told by an industrial council official that exemption would be granted if he applied for it.[5]

Mr. Wessels Bornman, secretary of the all-White, right-wing S.A. Yster-, Staal- en Verwante Nywerhede Unie—with about 35 000 members probably the third largest in the country—warned that in appointing Blacks to positions formerly held by Whites, key industries were being built on foundations that would crumble. He said that in twenty key industries there was a strong tendency to hire Blacks rather than Whites simply because their salaries were lower. There was a growing feeling among members of Mr. Bornman's union that many unfair things were being done in this regard. White workers were suspicious and scared that their jobs were being threatened. Problems could arise from this.[6]

The Leader of the Oppostion, in censuring the Government in the House of Assembly, said that his party specifically rejected job reservation and accepted the logical consequence that some Whites might have to work under the direction of Blacks. He went on:

> "We say that statutory job reservation is not only a form of mediaeval guildism, but that it has no place in a modern economic society. Needless to say it has constituted one of the main platforms of criticism against us from outside South Africa. Why could this Government not have moved openly in this direction? They have been doing it clandestinely, we all know. Why do they not move openly in this direction, give us the advantages and the credit in the outside world, and see the definite changes that could come as a result?"[7]

In his inaugural lecture as Professor of Business Administration at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Simon Biesheuvel briefly described the restrictions, both direct and indirect, placed upon Black occupational advance. He believed that "because of the deeply ingrained nature of White attitudes which demanded legal protection . . . a frontal attack on the statutory position would only serve to strengthen resistance . . . A modified job reservation could safeguard the position of Whites who perceived themselves as threatened in their economic position and self-esteem without blocking channels of advancement for Blacks. There would be no question of imposing a new reservation merely to serve the interest of particular White individuals. The list of reserved jobs would in fact be fixed and reviewed only in the light of a changing manpower situation. An industry could operate a particular plant or department on a wholly black basis, provided all white job seekers were accommodated in some other section run on traditional lines. The black worker would be seen to bypass rather than surpass white workers. The effect would be to leave white 'pockets' in an otherwise more closely integrated labour pattern." [8]

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[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 February.
[5] *Star*, 15 June.
[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 August.
[7] Hansard 1 cols. 49—50, 5 August.

At the end of August, the S.A. Institute of Race Relations issued its statement on labour policy in which it put forward the following view of job reservation [9]:

> "The fact that legally enforced job reservation in terms of Section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act affects relatively few workers—officially stated to amount to less than three per cent of the total number of jobs—gives a totally misleading impression of the effect of the industrial colour bar. African advancement is seriously impeded by legal and artificial restriction to artisan status attainment and also by ratios of unskilled and semi-skilled to skilled workers laid down in industrial council agreements and wage board determinations. This is aggravated by certain provisions contained in the Mines and Works Act of 1956, the Motor Carrier Transportation Act of 1959, the Bantu Labour Act of 1964, and the Group Areas Act. The Physical Planning Act of 1968 also limits employment opportunities for Africans in towns in the common area. These legislative barriers effectively impede much African job advancement.
>
> "Furthermore, there is a marked tendency among many Whites, including White workers anxious to safeguard their own economically privileged position, to preserve conventional colour bars in employment.
>
> "African entrepreneurial activity in the common area is restricted by a Department of Bantu Administration and Development circular issued in 1963 and by the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act read together with Government Notices published in 1968.
>
> "The Government attitude to apprenticeship was defined by the Minister of Labour in 1972 when he said that the policy in terms of the Apprenticeship Act was not to indenture African apprentices in the "White" areas.
>
> "The Institute strongly recommends that this complex of law, policy and custom be drastically revised."

During the labour debate in the House of Assembly in September, the U.P. labour spokesman, Dr. G. F. Jacobs, confirmed his leader's earlier statement by saying that their party was opposed to reservation of work on the basis of colour.

He went on to say:

> "All statutory discriminatory measures, and particularly clause 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act, would be repealed by us . . . The Minister says, and the hon. the Prime Minister says when he talks on

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[8] S. Biesheuvel. Black industrial labour in South Africa. South African Journal of Economics 42(3), September 1974, 294—300.

[9] RR 125/74.

> television to the outside world, that job reservation applies to less than 3% of the work force . . . If this were the case . . . why persevere with it? . . . it applies to much more than 3% of the work force, because it applies to the top. You must envisage the work force as a pyramid, and what you are in fact doing here is to put a ceiling, an absolute ceiling, upon the top people; so it means that they cannot break through that barrier and hence it means that you are restricting the advancement not only of the 3% but of all the Black workers. That is in fact its effect.
>
> "It is not merely this provision which blocks the Black worker. The Minister has 101 other measures; the Physical Planning Act prevents them from coming to places where the work opportunities are. Take apprenticeship training. There is nothing in any regulation which says that Black people cannot be trained as apprentices, but this hon. Minister by ministerial decree has decided that no Black apprentices will be trained in the so-called White areas. If you add all these measures together—and the effects are cumulative—you will find that job reservation and the associated procedures that go with it affect thousands and thousands of the Black workers of this country." [10]

In response the Minister of Labour pointed out that job reservation protected not only White workers' interests but those of Coloured workers in certain industries. He also said that industrialists and opposition political parties too often took "refuge behind the so-called restrictions of job reservation and the colour bar, instead of utilizing properly the very numerous opportunities that exist for the non-Whites and of bringing them to the point of maximal productivity". The Government did not intend to allow labour arrangements to rush along in an uncontrolled manner.[11]

In an address to a congress on African labour arranged by the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs the Minister of Labour made it quite clear that the Government felt that to ensure sound labour and race relations no White worker should be displaced by a Black. Where Blacks took over work previously done by Whites the change would have to occur with the co-operation of the White trade union concerned. At the same time, the White worker knew that the Government would act if his employment was jeopardised.[12]

A brief report on a survey by Professor Edward Feit of the University of Massachusetts indicated that findings based on a survey of 1 000 Afrikaans-speaking artisans on the Witwatersrand showed that where such artisans understood the economic arguments in favour of admitting Africans to skilled jobs they would support such a move. He warned that these workers were strongly prejudiced and felt that "despite all the propaganda and all that has been done in South Africa, the only path to African advancement is through a narrow definition of the subject, at least in public statements".[13]

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[10] Hansard 7 cols. 2976—7, 16 September.
[11] Hansard 7 cols. 3113—3116, and 3123, 17 September.
[12] The hon. Marais Viljoen, Minister of Labour. Address delivered at the biennial congress of SABRA, Pretoria, 18 September, 1974.
[13] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 October.

MANPOWER, LABOUR SHORTAGES, AND TRAINING

Manpower and shortages

Early in 1974 the Department of Labour released its *Manpower Survey No. 10* which related to the situation as at 27 April 1973. This excluded domestic workers in private service and persons engaged in agriculture but covered all other industries and occupations. This survey gave the following numbers of people employed in the Republic[1] at that time, together with shortages/vacancies of White, Coloured and Asian workers in various occupational categories:

SECTION A

	All Employees Except Artisans and Apprentices Presently Employed					*Shortages/Vacancies*		
Category	*White*	*Coloured*	*Asian*	*African*	*Total*	*White*	*Coloured*	*Asian*
1. Professional, semi-professional and technical employees	214 558	27 873	9 568	91 725	343 724	11 389	1 014	186
2. Managerial, executive and administrative employees	116 466	772	3 423	587	121 248	982	37	21
3. Clerical employees	379 241	32 098	30 967	57 154	499 460	6 183	280	80
4. Sales and related work	138 512	16 299	20 798	45 900	221 509	1 515	91	295
5. Actual mining and quarrying	28 165	2 286	152	511 935	542 538	1 150	2	0
6. Transport, delivery and communication	67 994	28 217	9 072	154 818	260 101	8 615	515	352
7. Processing of metal, plastics or machine parts in any industry and *operatives* in the motor industry	31 319	29 800	5 798	114 484	181 401	1 553	179	16
8. Operators and semi-skilled workers in building and/or construction work (any industry)	14 939	10 995	1 052	44 111	71 097	1 114	86	20
9. Processing of wood, furniture	3 215	7 065	1 481	19 349	31 110	55	39	0
10. Manufacture of clothes, textiles and in washing, dry-cleaning, etc.	6 584	69 682	26 470	92 165	194 901	152	2 439	51
11. Preparation and manufacture of food, drink and tobacco	4 494	11 849	2 708	39 265	58 316	35	27	33
12. Leather, artificial leather and shoe process work	859	15 932	15 724	4 608	37 123	19	24	61
13. Processing and manufacturing glass, fibre-glass, cement, lime, bricks, tiles, etc.	2 288	4 312	164	28 601	35 365	87	24	0

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[1] Separate figures for South West Africa (Namibia) were also given.

14. Skilled, semi-skilled and operators processing and manufacturing chemical and rubber products, soap, candles, edible oils and fats, plastics, explosives, fertilizers, etc.	6 331	4 522	1 438	22 172	34 463	338	4	0
15. Printing process and paper manufacture	4 069	5 387	3 216	6 254	18 926	50	13	0
16. Supervisors and other skilled and semi-skilled employees not classified elsewhere	59 624	21 584	6 820	79 277	167 305	2 287	339	45
17. Services: public, personal and domestic	74 078	38 003	12 715	230 483	355 279	5 988	1 247	197
18. Labourer	11 703	113 203	11 888	1 046 058	1 182 852	29	4 054	53
	1 164 439	439 879	163 454	2 588 946	4 356 718	41 541	10 414	1 410

SECTION B

	Artisans and Apprentices Presently Employed				Shortages/Vacancies		
Category	*White*	*Coloured*	*Asian*	*Total*	*White*	*Coloured*	*Asian*
19. Metal and Engineering Trades	89 941	2 810	589	93 340	6 418	23	5
20. Electrical trades	25 584	262	198	26 044	2 104	7	70
21. Motor trades	32 477	1 715	982	35 174	2 294	28	49
22. Building trades	41 421	27 611	3 518	72 550	3 902	522	219
23. Printing trades	8 995	2 150	205	11 350	229	0	0
24. Furniture trades	1 360	3 761	307	5 428	85	71	0
25. Food trades	8 145	1 741	523	10 409	83	12	0
26. Diamond cutting, jewellers' and gold smiths' trades	2 239	372	0	2 611	41	0	0
27. Hairdressing and miscellaneous	12 374	619	181	13 174	1 236	14	0
	222 536	41 041	6 503	270 080	16 392	677	343

SECTION C

Africans Registered Under the Bantu Building Workers Act.

In April 1973 there were 12 557 Africans registered in terms of this Act, of whom 3 314 were learners.

In other words, in April 1973 the gainfully employed in the Republic, excluding those engaged in agricultural pursuits and domestic workers in private service, numbered 4 639 355. White men numbered 933 417 or 20,1 per cent, White women 453 558 or 9,8 per cent, Coloured men 310 889 or 6,7 per cent, Coloured women 170 031 or 3,7 per cent, Asian men 137 227 or 2,9 per cent, Asian women 32 730 or 0,7 per cent, African men 2 342 095 or 50,5 per cent, and African women 259 408 or 5,6 per cent of the total manpower in these sectors. There was a shortage of 70 777 White, Coloured and Asian workers at that time.

What is significant, is that in the sectors covered by the *Manpower Survey*, 40 per cent of the African labour force and 24 per cent of the Coloured were classified as *labourers*, while only seven per cent of the Asian and less than one per cent of the Whites were so classified. Minimum wage fixing in the Republic is thus of vital importance for the living standards of these workers.

It would also appear that, on the basis on which the *Manpower Survey* is compiled, shortages of White, Coloured and Asian workers are not "acute". Where there is strain is in the professional, semi-professional and technical occupations, in telecommunications, in the metal and engineering trades, the building trades and the electrical and motor trades. A statement released by the Prime Minister in connection with a meeting of the Economic Advisory Council on 25 and 26 February expressed the view that: "Although as is usually the case during an upswing in the economy, skilled labour is becoming scarce, the shortages are obviously not yet as critical as in the comparable stages of previous upward phases . . . In the sectoral reports handed in by the various employers' organisations it was also striking how little reference there was to labour shortages. Only in one or two specific sectors of manufacturing industry, were the shortages described as 'acute' . . . On the whole it seems as if shortages of skilled labour will only begin to form a bottleneck at a much later stage than was the case in previous upswings in the economy." [2]

In a paper delivered at the S.A. Institute of Personnel Management's "Interface" convention in July, Professor C. H. Wyndham, Director of the Chamber of Mines' Human Sciences Laboratory, estimated that in 1980 there would be an economically active pool of 10 400 000, of whom 1 700 000 would be White, to serve the economic requirements of a total population of some 29 000 000. The economy would require 3 750 000 "skilled" people, of whom 670 000 or 6,5 per cent with higher education would be needed in professional, technical management and administrative categories. He pointed out that ven if every single economically active White of the 1 700 000 ailable had been trained for "skilled" work, the remaining

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[2] Department of Information Press Release 69/74 (P).

2 000 000 "skilled" people would have to be drawn from the Black population.

Professor Wyndham estimated that at the present tempo of White education there would be 350 000 Whites with higher education by 1980, i.e. twice the proportion of the population with higher education in the U.K. This meant that 320 000 Blacks with higher education would be needed. In order to attain this figure there would have to be an immediate *five-fold increase* of Blacks in institutes of higher education, from the present figure of 10 000 to 50 000. Unless priorities were drastically changed, this figure would not be achieved and the Republic's economy would suffer in consequence.

A survey conducted by the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation covering the month of June indicated that overtime in the basic metal and engineering industries had hit the limit of human endurance and in many factories the shortage of skilled labour was critical.[3] Employers' associations in the steel and engineering industries, and building and electrical industries were critical of the developing role of labour agencies supplying skilled labour on a contract basis at what employers see as inflated rates of remuneration.[4]

In his address to a SABRA conference mentioned earlier in this chapter [5], the Minister of Labour said that with the present rate of economic growth, an increasing shortage of White workers corresponded with a preponderance of Black workers which was increasing all the time.

The Minister went on to say that the real annual growth rate of 5½ per cent per annum in the period 1963—1973 had led to a shortage of nearly 60 000 White workers. The Economic Development Programme for the period 1972—1977 had proposed a growth target of 5¾ per cent a year. If this were to be attained, the shortage of White workers would rise to about 82 000 in 1977, or nearly 90 000 in 1979 if the anticipated 1974 rate of growth of 6,4 per cent was maintained over the next five years. This would mean that, on average, 5 000 Black workers a year would have to be drawn into positions left vacant by the White labour shortage. Between 1972 and 1977 the manufacturing industry alone was likely to create 57 000 job opportunities of which 11 700 would have to be filled by Coloured and 37 800 by African workers.

Immigration

See the chapters on population and foreign affairs, and the section on foreign investment for further data and comment in this connection.

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[3] *Sunday Tribune*, 4 August.

[4] *Financial Mail*, 9 August.

[5] Sy Ed. Marais Viljoen, Minister van Arbeid. Toespraak . . . ter opening van die tweejaarlikse kongres van SABRA. Pretoria, 18 September.

The Prime Minister's statement on the February meeting o the Economic Advisory Council, mentioned earlier, reported tha some members of the EAC had expressed their concern about th fact that while there was a rising demand for workers, Sout Africa's immigration figures had dropped in the recent past. This it was felt, could not be ascribed to any relaxation of Sout Africa's recruiting abroad. These efforts had been hamperec because the demand for immigrants by S.A. undertakings had no been very strong until the revival in the economy, while Europe' economy had been booming during the same period. Assistanc given to immigrants by the Government had recently bee improved and an acceleration in the rate of immigration wa confidently expected.

The president of the Steel and Engineering Industrie Federation announced in October that Seifsa was to launch a pilo scheme to bring 1 000 artisans to S.A. over a period of six to nin months. The scheme would involve no direct costs for th individual firms with whom the immigrants would be placed. Th general secretary of the S.A. Boilermakers' Society, Mr. Ton Murray, who had recently returned from a trip to Europe said tha there were virtually no prospects for recruiting boilermakers fron overseas where they were as scarce as diamonds and nearly al categories of artisans were earning premium wages. Mr. Murra felt that South Africans of all races should be trained as artisans i preference to importing skilled men from abroad.[6]

Training

On pages 221 and 326—8 of last year's *Survey* th Government's plans to provide pre-service and in-service trainin for Africans in "White areas" were described. Two types o training were announced in June 1973: the first consisting of eigh departmental industrial training centres in African residential areas at a cost of R2 000 000, forming part of the secondary educatio programme and controlled by the Department of Bant Education; the second consisting of eight private industria training centres situated in industrial complexes catering fo groups of industrialists with common training needs, to which th State would contribute R1 200 000.[7]

In his budget speech during August, the Minister of Financ announced that as a result of recommendations by both th Committee on the Better Utilisation of Manpower and th Economic Advisory Council he was increasing tax concessions t industrialists for training skilled workers from 50 per cent to 10 per cent of grants received in this respect from an industria training fund. The loss of revenue which would result woul amount to about R600 000 a year but there would be no loss in the 1974/75 financial year. Further, on the recommendation of the Inter-departmental (Van Zyl) Committee, the Government had decided that tax concessions should be granted to employers for any expenditure on an approved training scheme for African labour. The concession would be 100 per cent where such training occurred in a "White area" so that an employer who spent R1 000 in this regard would be allowed to deduct R2 000 from his taxable income. Where such training took place in an economic development area (i.e. presumably a border industrial or homeland area) the tax concession would be 125 per cent so that an employer who spent R1 000 in this regard could deduct R2 250 from his taxable income. While it was unlikely that there would be any loss of revenue in the 1974/75 financial year, in later years as training was extended the loss might increase to something like R20 000 000 per year.[8] Initially, the Minister's announcement received a wide welcome.

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[6] *Star*, 17 October; *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 October.

[7] Minister of Bantu Education, Hansard 1 cols. 24—25, 9 August, and Hansard 8 cols. 563—4, 24 September.

The Minister of Bantu Education said that the eight Government industrial training centres would be established in six major urban areas: two in Soweto, and one each in Vereeniging, Pietermaritzburg, Pretoria, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Germiston.[9] Sites for the private training centres had been made available either by municipalities, participating industrialists or Bantu Affairs Administration Boards at Benoni, Vanderbijlpark, Pretoria, Chamdor (Krugersdorp), Pinetown and Port Elizabeth. A site had been provided at Bloemfontein and the building to house this centre was under construction and expected to be completed by the end of 1974. The eighth private centre had been allocated to the agricultural sector as a whole but the S.A. Agricultural Union was still considering a suitable site.[10]

There was speculation in September that employer groups could reach no agreement on raising the money to finance the private industrial centres. The only centre going ahead without any problems was the one in Bloemfontein where every employer in the area was contributing to the costs. The differences among employers apparently arose not through an unwillingness to subsidise the centres but over the methods to be adopted. Some organisations already had training funds and were prepared to use these, some favoured the introduction of a levy on the lines of the Bantu Services Levy, some wanted the money raised through the industrial councils with which they were connected, some were reluctant to impose a general levy of this kind, and some were opposed to any system which would enable other employers who did not contribute to obtain the services of trained workers at the contributing employers' expense.[11] In October the Department of

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[8] Hansard 2 cols. 654—5, 14 August.
[9] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 August.
[10] Hansard 8 cols. 563—4, 24 September.
[11] *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 September.

Bantu Education announced that at the request of big employer groups special legislation to provide methods of financing the training of Africans in "White areas" was being given urgent attention.[12]

The Minister of Bantu Education also told the House of Assembly that besides the plans for pre-service and in-service training described above, there were the following *ad hoc* industrial schools providing pre-service training in border industrial areas and homelands: seven in Natal, six in the Cape Province; three in BophuthaTswana, two in KwaZulu, and one in the Ciskei.[13]

In the labour debate in the House of Assembly the U.P. spokesman on labour, Dr. G. F. Jacobs, said that his party's policy in this regard would be to ensure that there was better vocational training and that apprenticeship training was extended to all races in the country. Black people would have to be trained as apprentices in all trades and an immediate start would have to be made with this.[14] In response the Minister of Labour said [15]:

> "Are we doing enough to train people? I think one can never do enough to train people, but that we are doing a great deal within our means, is most definitely the position. If one considers that we have 31 apprenticeship committees and that we have the National Apprenticeship Board in which the employers and the trade unions are represented . . . then it is a sign that we are not asleep . . . As a result of the proposals submitted by these committees to the Apprenticeship Board, we have now shortened the periods of apprenticeship in respect of several industries. We are continually smartening up the system in order to adapt it to changed circumstances; consequently we had 38 000 apprentices indentured this year . . . Apart from these 38 000 indentured apprentices, we have in the building industry a special training centre at Baragwanath . . . The hon. members will also realise that the legislation relating to the training of adults has afforded 13 000 adults the opportunity of acquiring artisan status. In addition to this the amendment which we effected in 1970 in order to render training schemes possible, has made a tremendous contribution to the training of adults."

The Minister pointed out that nine of the training schemes had been established by industrial councils and a further two by other agencies.

Apprentices

The Minister of Labour told the House of Assembly that 36 799 apprenticeship contracts for White, Coloured and Asian workers were registered (i.e. in training) in 1972 while 37 743 were registered in 1973.[16] He later gave the following break-down of apprentices *indentured* by industry in 1972 and 1973 [17]:

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[12] *Ibid.*, 15 October.

[13] Hansard 1 cols. 24—5, 9 August.

[14] Hansard 7 col. 2977, 16 September.

[15] *Ibid.*, cols. 3120—3123, 17 September.

[16] Hansard 5 cols. 284—5, 3 September.

[17] Hansard 7 cols. 533—8, 20 September.

Industry or Trade	*Indentured Apprentices*					
	White		*Coloured*		*Asian*	
	1972	*1973*	*1972*	*1973*	*1972*	*1973*
Aerospace	269	548	—	—	—	—
Building	551	650	1 102	789	273	185
Coal Mining	28	27	—	—	—	—
Diamond Cutting	84	90	—	—	—	—
Electricity Supply Undertaking	94	103	—	—	—	—
Explosives and Allied Industries	28	34	—	—	—	—
Food (Butchery)	3	6	—	—	—	—
Furniture	21	30	138	156	61	39
Government Undertakings	155	367	7	91	—	1
Grain milling	1	3	—	—	—	—
Hairdressing	339	453	—	—	1	1
Jewellers and Goldsmiths	16	14	7	—	1	—
Metal (Engineering)	2 747	2 773	203	162	20	25
Mining	561	698	—	—	—	—
Motor	2 113	2 191	177	194	68	70
Printing	506	344	26	26	8	10
South African Railways	1 720	1 635	—	—	—	—
Sugar Manufacturing and Refining	31	26	2	5	2	5
Total	9 267	9 982	1 662	1 423	434	336

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education said that the following numbers of Africans had enrolled for technical and vocational courses at various educational institutions in 1973 and 1974 [18]:

Trade	*Skilled African Trainees*		
	No. of Institutions	*Numbers Enrolled*	
		1973	*1974*
Welders	4	138 [19]	— [20]
Electricians	5	261	212
Carpenters	22	745	786
Motor mechanics	13	240	569
General mechanics	9	202	288
Builders	18	799	845
Watchmakers	1	45	39
Tailors	6	192	197
Leatherworkers	5	123	119
Plum[illegible]	13	416	451
Pane[illegible]ers	6	136	193
Upholsterers and Motor-trimmers	4	93	103
Painters and glaziers	3	37	61
		3 427	3 863

[18] Hansard 3 cols. 171–2, 23 August.
[19] This was the number that qualified in that year.
[20] Enrolment figures for 1974 had not been available when the Deputy Minister gave his reply.

The Deputy Minister pointed out that pupils had to receive further in-service training and pass standard tests before they were considered for full artisan status. He later conceded that the number of Africans being trained was "infinitesimal" but qualified this by pointing out that Government concessions in this regard would help to improve the situation.[21]

EMPLOYMENT IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

General

The *Annual Economic Report* of the S.A. Reserve Bank for the year ended 30 June 1974 stated that during the ten months ended April 1974, productivity in the manufacturing sector had increased by 3 per cent, compared with 2,5 per cent in 1972/73 and 0,5 per cent in 1971/72. Actual employment in the manufacturing sector had not increased to the same extent as the hours worked by production workers. The difference in the rates of increase was reflected in a fairly sharp increase in overtime as a percentage of ordinary hours worked. A significant difference in the rate of increase in employment of Whites and other population groups during recent years was evident. The number of Whites employed in the manufacturing sector had shown no change over the past two years and had in fact declined by 0,7 per cent in the last ten months compared with the same period of the previous year. On the other hand, Black employment had accelerated appreciably growing by 4,3 per cent in the last ten months compared with 2,9 per cent in 1972/73.

In past issues of this *Survey* figures on employment and earnings in the month of May of the relevant year were given. Unfortunately, when this year's *Survey* went to press in mid-November, similar statistics had not yet been issued by the authorities. The employment figures given below relate, therefore, to the month of September 1973. They are based on data from a sample survey of private establishments conducted by the Department of Statistics.[1] Average monthly earnings have been calculated by the writer and also relate to September 1973.

	Average numbers employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings*
		R
White	279 400	383
Coloured . . .	213 500	101
Asian	78 700	108
African	696 700	71
	1 268 300	

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[21] *Sunday Tribune*, 1 September.

[1] Department of Statistics: Statistical News Release dated 12 December 1973.

The fact that 1974 statistics had not become available when this *Survey* went to press masks certain significant wage movements which occurred during the latter half of 1973 and the first ten months of 1974. Brief comment on some sub-sectors of the manufacturing industry is recorded under the relevant industries below.

The Clothing Industry

Employment and earnings in this industry in September 1973 were calculated from data given in the *Statistical News Release* mentioned above.

	Average numbers employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings*
		R
White	9 600	383
Coloured . . .	57 300	80
Asian	24 000	77
African	36 100	68
	127 000	

Senator Anna Scheepers maintained that the clothing industry in the Transvaal had been victimised by the application of the Physical Planning Act (1968). She pointed out that: "Whereas the labour force of the clothing industry in the Cape has grown from 22 047 in 1967 to 44 000 in 1974, because Coloured workers are available, and in the Durban/Pinetown area from 14 586 to 26 000 over the same period, the Transvaal figure for this period has grown from 23 734 to 25 060—less than 2 000 growth . . . The other areas had Coloured and Indian workers available, whilst the Transvaal had to beg for permits to employ Black workers . . ." [2]

Brief information on the facilities and activities of the non-racial Training College for the Clothing Industry (Transvaal) and the difficulties it was encountering with the network of prohibitive legislation and administrative obstruction involved in its establishment was given on pages 202—3 of the 1971 issue, page 272 of the 1972 issue and pages 224—5 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey*. In the Senate, Dr. Scheepers said: "Directors of the National Productivity Institute were very impressed with our efforts . . . But what did we find? Not only did we not receive a grant from the Government but we were harassed by the Department of Labour, the Department of Coloured Affairs, the Group Areas Board, the Department of Bantu Education, etc., because we gave training to all racial groups. We put up barriers and tried everything possible to meet the requirements of the Department of Labour. Ultimately we received permission from the Department of Coloured Affairs, but Group Areas and Bantu Education insist that Africans cannot be trained on the premises. It looks farcical; the college is in the heart of the factory area where these workers are working. Many get training after work. We have now received an ultimatum that as soon as training centres in Soweto are built we will not be permitted to train Africans any more. All workers, and their employers, contribute to the training fund. We still have a lease of 3½ years on the premises. If we cannot train Blacks they cannot contribute to the fund, and the income from the Whites and Coloureds will not be sufficient to carry on the College. The college will have to close down."[3]

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[2] Senate Hansard 6, cols. 248—52, 4 October

The Clothing Industry Productivity Association (CLIPA) was established on 1 April with a National Productivity Institute grant of R15 000.[4]

In 1974 new wage agreements were negotiated through the relevant industrial councils in the nine major regions where the clothing industry is located. Some examples of new minima in October 1974 are[5]:

	Adult male labourer R. per week	*Female machinist qualified R. per week*
Cape	15,40	17,09
George	10,75	12,04
Eastern Province	16,17	17,64
Natal—Durban	15,15	18,45
Natal—Pietermaritzburg	13,65	16,60
Kimberley	1,00	16,00
Kroonstad	11,00	14,15
Parys and Frankfort . . .	11,00	11,90
Transvaal	14,50	18,50

These rates give a rough indication of a significant upward movement in wages since 1973. In the Transvaal, for instance, about 11 000 of the 25 000 workers are classified as machinists and the new minimum rate would give qualified workers about R80 per month.

The Textile Industry

The following employment and average monthly cash earnings figures in the textile industry in September 1973 were calculated from the *Statistical News Release* mentioned earlier.

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[3] Senate Hansard 6 cols. 2483–5, 4 October.

[4] *FCI Viewpoint*, March 1974.

[5] Only two categories of the dozens of occupations for which minimum wages are prescribed have been given. The labourer's rate has been chosen to provide some comparison with Wage Board minima although this is not a numerically important category in this industry. The female machinist's rate has been given because this is a numerically important category.

	Average numbers employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings*
		R
White	8 000	402
Coloured	15 700	86
Asian	5 700	103
African	64 800	62
	94 200	

Average African earnings in textiles in September 1973 were among the *lowest* in the manufaeturing industry. There had, however, been an upward movement of nearly 15 per cent since the beginning of 1973 when this industry was badly hit by a wave of strikes.[6] The Minister later used the powers conferred upon him by the 1973 amendment to the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act to make a minimum wage order which came into effect on 7 January 1974 for the light cotton textile section of this industry. This new order prescribed minimum rates for the lowest category of adult male worker of R14,50 per week in the Cape; R13,00 per week in Durban, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria and on the Witwatersrand; R12,00 per week in Pietermaritzburg, for instance, with further increases of R1,00 per week being prescribed in each of the following two years. The highest rate prescribed was that for an adult male in Grade IV in the Cape at R21,20 per week. Qualified workers in the higher grades seemed to be disturbed about the new rates prescribed for them and further strikes broke out early in 1974 (see relevant section of this *Survey*).

New wage agreements for the workers in the cotton textile industry (Cape) and the worsted textile manufacturing industry (Cape) were negotiated through the relevant industrial councils. In the former the labourer's minimum rate was fixed at R13,80 per week and a qualified Grade A employee's rate at R16,10 per week. In the latter, in Bellville, for example, the male labourer's rate was fixed at R14,50 per week and a qualified male Grade IV employee's rate at R21,20 per week.

In September there were press reports of wide-spread retrenchment in the textile industry with 1 000 workers in the Cape and 400 in Benoni being laid off. Textile manufacturers attributed the crisis to large-scale imports of cheaper fabrics from the Far East.[7] The Minister of Economic Affairs swiftly imposed heavy duties on a wide range of imported textiles. Clothing manufacturers and the Association of the Chamber of Commerce's textile sub-committee reacted "with concern" to this decision.[8]

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[6] See pages 225 and 264 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey*.

[7] *Star*, 14 September; *Sunday Express*, 15 September.

[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 and 26 September.

The Motor Industry

The motor assembly industry, as distinct from those industries manufacturing components and repairing motor vehicles or building—but not assembling—bodies of motor vehicles is dominated by foreign companies. A new agreement regulating the minimum wages and other conditions of employment was being negotiated when this *Survey* went to press.

In September General Motors and Ford Motor Company were paying a rock-bottom minimum wage of 56 cents an hour or R109 per month while average earnings for beginners were in the region of R146,81 per month. Minimum wages of this order would certainly put the two companies in the vanguard of progressive employers so far as wages are concerned.[9] (See also the "foreign investment" and "industrial council" sections of this chapter.)

The Chemicals and Products Industry

The following employment and average monthly cash earnings figures in the chemicals and products industries in September 1973 were calculated from the *Statistical News Release* mentioned earlier.

	Average numbers employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings*
		R
White . .	21 700	405
Coloured	5 900	112
Asian . .	1 900	153
African .	38 400	74
	67 900	

A new wage agreement for the chemical industry (Cape) was negotiated through the relevant industrial council in 1974. This prescribed a minimum weekly wage of R15,50 for a labourer and R55 for a chemist, among other categories. No other new wage regulating instruments were promulgated but the Wage Board announced an investigation of Determination No. 323 made in 1970 covering the chemical and allied products industry.

The following information on the African wage structure of African Explosives and Chemical Industries which employs about 8 600 African workers, of whom 85 per cent are migrant contract workers housed in all-male compounds, was published during the year [10]:

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[9] *Sunday Times*, 28 July

[10] AE and CI Supplement to *Financial Mail*, 11 April 1974

Grade	Numbers employed (approximate)	Monthly earnings (plus free board and lodging) R
A	5 500	72—102
B	1 300	92—119
C	900	109—139
D	600	132—162
E	190	162—190
F	60	190—220
G	50	220—255
	8 600	

Average African earnings were about R114 per month, excluding free board and lodging. Those workers who did not live in company compounds or hostels received an extra R18 per month. Service increments ranging from R1 per month after six months' service to R20 per month after 35 years' service were also paid. The company had a single job appraisal system and was moving towards a unified pay curve.

Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industries

The following employment and average monthly cash earnings figures in the various divisions of these very important industries in September 1973 were calculated from the *Statistical News Release* mentioned earlier.

	Basic Metal		*Metal Products*	
	Average No employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* R	*Average No employed*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* R
White . . .	31 500	398	35 300	396
Coloured .	2 000	149	11 100	138
Asian . . .	600	158	4 700	114
African . .	48 800	74	95 600	74
	82 900		146 700	

	Machinery		*Electrical Machinery*	
	Average No. employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* R	*Average No. employed*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* R
White . . .	27 300	387	17 000	370
Coloured .	4 000	126	9 700	124
Asian . . .	400	195	1 300	122
African . .	33 700	82	20 700	85
	65 400		48 700	

Transport Equipment

	Average No. employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* R
White . . .	25 600	376
Coloured .	15 100	132
Asian . . .	1 500	151
African . .	38 400	84
	80 600	

A new agreement for the iron, steel, engineering and metallurgical industry was published in March giving a rate of 32 cents an hour for the lowest category of worker. These rates were revised in August fixing a new minimum rate of 39 cents an hour in the lowest category or R17,55 per week (R76 per month). Africans may be employed on semi-skilled work up to the level of rate "C" work where the new minimum was fixed at R1,20 per hour (R234 per month).

An order issued under the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act updated a 1970 wage determination covering certain sections of the metal and allied products industry in certain areas of the Republic. This prescribed new minima for qualified male Grade III employees (the lowest category) of R16,20 per week in Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and on the Witwatersrand. This order eliminated certain area differentials which had been fixed in the earlier determinations.

The Food Industry

The following employment and average monthly cash earnings figures in the food industry in September 1973 were calculated from the *Statistical News Release* mentioned earlier.

	Average numbers employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* R
White . . .	20 400	357
Coloured . .	19 300	81
Asian . . .	8 900	120
African . . .	90 300	64
	138 900	

A revised industrial agreement for the biscuit manufacturing industry prescribed a new minimum rate of R20,00 a week (R87 per month) for labourers, while that for the baking and confectionery industry in Durban laid down a new minimum of R16,00 per week (R69 per month) for labourers, that for the sugar manufacturing and refining industry set a new labourer's minimum of R13,80 a week (R59,80 a month), and that for the Cape sweetmaking industry set a new male labourer's minimum of R15,50 per week (R67,17 per month). There was also a revision of two wage determinations covering the bread and confectionery industry which set, for example, new male labourer's minima of R12 per week (R52 per month) in Pietermaritzburg, Bloemfontein and Kimberley, and R13 per week (R56,33 per month) on the Witwatersrand. Other wage determinations covering the food, condensed milk, fish processing, tea, coffee, and chicory, edible nuts and snacks, ice cream manufacturing and sweet manufacturing industries were all in the process of being investigated by the Wage Board with a view to revision when this *Survey* went to press.

E[illegible]ment and earnings in other manufacturing industries

[illegible]e following employment and average monthly cash e[illegible]ings figures in various other manufacturing industries in September 1973 were calculated from the *Statistical News Release* mentioned earlier.

	Beverages		*Tobacco*	
	Average No. employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings*	*Average No. employed*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings*
		R		*R*
White	5 200	349	1 100	353
Coloured	5 800	77	1 100	80
Asian	400	190	—	—
African	14 200	77	1 900	88
	25 600		4 100	

	Footwear		*Wood and Cork*	
	Average No. employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings*	*Average No. employed*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings*
		R		*R*
White	2 300	364	6 300	327
Coloured	12 100	96	6 600	85
Asian	16 600	102	1 300	122
African	6 000	77	47 700	55
	37 000		61 900	

	Furniture		*Paper and Products*	
	Average No. employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* *R*	*Average No. employed*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* *R*
White	6 400	369	7 300	406
Coloured	9 700	137	5 300	112
Asian	2 000	143	3 800	142
African	20 000	74	16 200	93
	38 100		32 600	

	Printing		*Leather and Products*	
	Average No. employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* *R*	*Average No. employed*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* *R*
White	17 700	362	700	340
Coloured	8 100	141	4 200	92
Asian	2 000	154	600	112
African	8 600	99	1 900	67
	36 400		7 400	

	Rubber Products		*Non-metallic Mineral Products*	
	Average No. employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* *R*	*Average No. employed*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* *R*
White	5 800	362	16 100	387
Coloured	2 100	125	8 200	111
Asian	700	127	600	147
African	14 500	85	76 800	66
	23 100		101 700	

	Miscellaneous		*Electricity*	
	Average No. employed	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* *R*	*Average No. employed*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* *R*
White	14 100	395	10 300	413
Coloured	10 200	101	700	103
Asian	2 200	129	—	—
African	22 100	75	17 600	80
	48 600		28 600	

The new industrial agreement for the tobacco industry negotiated in 1974 contained the highest minimum wage rate for a labourer—R23,10 per week for a forty-two hour week (R100,10 per month)—yet achieved in South Africa.

THE DECENTRALISATION OF INDUSTRIES

General

Information on Government policy in connection with the decentralisation of industries is contained in previous issues of this *Survey*,[1] and in a booklet by Muriel Horrell, published by the Institute of Race Relations in 1973, entitled *The African Homelands of South Africa*, as are developments in connection with the Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act of 1967.[2]

In our 1973 issue we briefly mentioned Dr. R.T. Bell's important study of *Industrial Decentralisation in South Africa*. Dr. Bell followed this up with a paper published at the end of 1973.[3] In the latter, he pointed out that in 1969/70 employment in the manufacturing industry in the "border" and "Bantu areas" amounted to 140 498 or 12,84 percent of total manufacturing employment compared with 72 963 or 11,79 percent in 1969/70. Mrs. Anne Ratcliffe in a critical review of Dr. Bell's book and article[4] pointed out: "As cannot sufficiently be reiterated, the difference between industrial decentralisation policy in South Africa and elsewhere is not that it is to a high degree politically and socially motivated in South Africa (the same is true in other countries); but that in South Africa since 1960 industrial location policy has been directed largely towards palliating the adverse effects on income distribution of government policy towards the geographical dispersion of the population."

Incentives applicable to decentralisation

In mid-1960 the Government offered certain concessions to industrialists as an inducement to divert industry to border areas. These incentives were augmented in May 1964, again in September 1968, and yet again in June 1971.[5] At the end of 1972 the Decentralisation Board issued a schedule of augmented concessions offered to industrialists at designated growth points.[6]

A twenty-five percent tax exemption to industrialists submitting their detailed applications for decentralisation assistance was extended from 30 June 1974 to 30 June 1975.[7] Railage rebates at certain growth points were increased from 1

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[1] 1964 pages 165—173; 1968 pages 96—102; 1969 pages 95—100; 1970 pages 104—109; 1971 pages 209—225; 1972 pages 194—203 and 276—286; 1973 pages 175—181 and 230—235.

[2] 1967 page 107; 1968 page 94; 1969 page 92; 1970 page 86; 1972 page 278; 1973 pages 230—232.

[3] R. T. Bell. *Some Aspects of Industrial Decentralisation in South Africa*. *In:* South African Journal of Economics vol. 41(4), December 1973, pp. 401—431.

[4] Anne E. Ratcliffe. *Industrial Decentralisation in South Africa*. *In:* South African Journal of Economics vol. 42(2), June 1974, pp. 157—176.

[5] (a) Muriel Horrell. The African Homelands of South Africa. Johannesburg, S.A.I.R.R., 1973, pages 101—5.
(b) *A Survey of Race Relations in S.A., 1971*, pages 211—213.

[6] (a) Board for the Decentralisation of Industry. Report on Activities for the period 1 January to 31 December 1972.
(b) See Horrell. *The African Homelands*, and *A Survey of Race Relations in S.A., 1973*, pages 230—231, for examples of concessions prevailing in 1973. A publication entitled *Decentralisation—Growth Points 1974* was due to be published by the Department of Planning in 1974 with an explanation and schedule of concessions.

[7] Industrial Development Corporation of S.A. Report for year ended 30 June 1974. *In: Rand Daily Mail*, 9 October.

April in the following way: general rebate raised from 15 percent to 30 percent maximum; rebate for Butterworth and Umtata raised from 20 to 40 percent maximum; and the rebate for East London/Berlin/King William's Town raised from 15 to 40 percent maximum.[8] A notice incorporating revised tender preferences in economic development areas was issued by the Office of the State Buyer in July.[9]

Selected growth points

Information on growth points selected by the Decentralisation Board was given on pages 213 to 214 of the 1971 issue of this *Survey*. In March the Government announced that Dassenberg (near Mamre) and Darling, in the Cape, were to be considered growth points where decentralisation concessions would apply in respect of Coloured labour.[10] According to the Minister of Planning similar concessions in respect of both Coloured and African employment are available at Grahamstown.[11]

A brief note on the development of the Sishen/Saldanha scheme in the Western Cape was contained on page 230 of last year's *Survey*. This matter became even more controversial in 1974. The development of an ore loading berth at St. Croix off Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape by the private sector was approved in principle by the Government although this had been shelved in favour of the Saldanha Bay scheme after what appeared to be a long period of equivocation.[12] The Government decided not to publish the Straszacker Committee's report on the Sishen/Saldanha scheme, confirmed that ISCOR would construct and operate the railway line between the two points, and announced that the estimated total cost of the railway line, harbour and ancillary works would be in the region of R480 million.[13] The Minister of Economic Affairs said later that unforeseen problems were being experienced with dredging the sea-bed at Saldanha Bay.[14] The question of land prices and "excessive profits" being made in this regard at growth points like Saldanha Bay, Newcastle, and Richards Bay, was aired in the press, became the subject of acrimonious exchanges in Parliament, and led to a snap debate on the issue.[15]

The Physical Planning Act

The Minister of Planning gave the following information on applications made by industrialists for the establishment or extension of factories in "controlled" areas between 19 January 1968 and 31 July 1974[16]:

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[8] Minister van Ekonomiese Sake. *Konsessies toegestaan aan nyweraars in gedesentraliseerde gebiede.* Persverklaring uitgereik deur die Departement van Inligting, 81/74(R) 22 Maart 1974

[9] Notice 451 of 1974, 19 July 1974

[10] *Minister van Ekonomiese Sake: Op Cit*

[11] Hansard 2, cols. 46—7, 13 August

[12] *Financial Mail*, 6 September

[13] Hansard 4, cols. 243—246 and 259, 30 August

[14] Hansard 5, cols. 358—359, 6 September

[15] See for example: Hansard 5, cols 2095—2107, 3 September

	Transvaal	Western Cape	Other Areas	Totals
Applications received . .	11 984	1 114	1 690	14 788
Applications granted . .	10 774	947	1 511	13 232
Applications refused . .	1 047	150	154	1 351
Applications under consideration . .	163	17	25	205

This gives an overall refusal rate of 9,1 percent, with the refusal rate in the Western Cape being the highest at 13,5 percent, followed by the "other controlled" areas at 9,1 percent, and the Transvaal (mainly the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging area) at 8,7 percent. The total number of potential African employees affected by refusals during this period was 75 286 (an increase between 31 March 1973 and 31 July 1974 of 13 378 workers).

In response to opposition challenges that decentralisation was having an adverse effect upon the economy, the Minister of Planning put forward the view that the refusal rate of applications for the establishment or extension of factories in controlled areas at less than 10 percent was low. He went on to say: "With the concessions in the Budgets of the past two years, Bantu labour has been granted for double shifts, and not only for double shifts, spare capacity was also granted . . . and I am no longer receiving complaints from industrialists as I received during my first two years of office."[17]

Proclamation No. 190 of 1974 added two further magisterial districts in the Transvaal and three in the Cape to the schedule of "controlled" areas. In his article, mentioned earlier in this section, Dr. R. T. Bell said that the beneficial effect of the decentralisation policy on increasing the amount of African employment became questionable when the effects of the Physical Planning Act and other measures restricting the geographical mobility of labour were taken into account, for these measures "must tend to increase capital/labour ratios in the larger industrial centres and so reduce the availability of African employment there".

Mr. J. H. Thomas, secretary of the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry (Transvaal) expressed the view that: "If it was not for the restrictions of the Physical Planning Act the Transvaal clothing industry would now be employing well over 30 000 people instead of about 24 500."[18]

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[16] Hansard 2, cols. 102 – 3, 16 August. (It will be recalled that an "extension" of a factory was defined in the Act as any increase in the number of African employees.)

[17] Senate Hansard 2, col. 543, 21 August.

[18] *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 November 1973.

Progress in decentralised areas

In its report for the year ended December 1973 the Decentralisation Board reported an increase in the number of applications received from manufacturing concerns from 185 in 1972 to 227 in 1973. (This reversed the downward trend shown over the previous three years in this respect.) If these projects were finalised they were likely to create employmen opportunities for 18 408 workers of whom 16 310 would be African. However, the Board reported that projects approved in 1973 with which industrialists were proceeding or likely to proceed would create employment for 7 309 people, of whom 403 were White, 454 were Coloured, and 6 452 were African. (This indicated a further decline over 1972 in the number of jobs actually being created.)

In the 13½ years from June 1960, when the decentralisation programme began, employment had been created in all decentralised areas, including homeland areas, for an additional 114 700 people, comprising 92 000 Africans, 11 100 Whites, and 11 600 Coloured or Asian people. Employment in the Durban/Pinetown complex, which is also officially regarded as a border area, is not included in the figures given above since decentralisation assistance is not granted there. (In 1960 when the programme was launched, it was estimated that about 55 000 Africans were already being employed in the manufacturing industry in decentralised areas, excluding Durban and Pinetown. These figures would have to be taken into account in any "guesstimate" of the number of Africans employed in this sector in these areas.)

From 1960 until the end of 1972, the total direct additional investment (excluding investments in basic services) by both the private and public sectors in secondary industry in *all* decentralised areas was estimated at R637 million (an increase over 1972 of R62 million or 10,8 percent). However, the Board cautioned in its annual report that it could not be aware of all new undertakings and expansions in the decentralised areas.

By the end of 1973 gross commitments by the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) in the form of loans, share capital and industrial buildings amounted to R159 300 000. Industrialists who had been financially assisted by the IDC had themselves invested R349 million in the projects concerned. In the homelands, the Bantu Investment Corporation and the Xhosa Development Corporation had committed some R35 500 000 in respect of land, buildings, and loans to industrialists who had established undertakings on the agency basis. Contributions by the private sector in the homelands amounted to approximately R29 million. The balance of the total estimated investment of R637 million had been contributed by the private sector in various ways.

During June 1971 it had been decided that industrialists should be re-imbursed by means of cash grants for their immediate and direct costs incurred in the physical removal of their factories and personnel. By the end of 1973 an amount of R467 084 had been paid out to 42 industrialists in this respect. (This is R268 500 higher than the 1972 figure.)

Tax and interest concessions granted by the end of 1973 were estimated at R36 670 000 (an increase of R5 690 000 since 1972).

Commitments for the housing of key White staff between 1965 and the end of 1973 amounted to R21 million (an increase of R4 300 000 since 1972). About 1 555 residential units had been erected or purchased (an increase of 260 on the 1972 figure).

Railway rebates granted between 1 May 1964 and the end of 1973 were estimated to have cost R5 507 000 (an increase of R1 467 000 over 1972). Harbour rebates granted between 1 December 1968 and the end of 1973 amounted to R248 200. An amount of R24 806 had been spent on a publicity campaign.

The Minister of Economic Affairs said that by the end of December 1973 the Government, the IDC, and other official agencies had spent R53 479 232 on the development of industrial townships in border areas. On the other hand R321 492 had been spent in this way in other economic development areas outside the homelands. These figures did not include amounts spent on water and electricity supply schemes.[19]

Dr. J. Adendorff, managing director of the Bantu Investment Corporation, has pointed out that in accordance with Government policy in this repect, 20 000 jobs per year will have to be created for Africans in border and homeland areas. The creation of each new job opportunity was costing R8 000 at the present time and R180 million would, therefore, be required each year for the industrial development of the homeland and border areas.[20]

Industrial conciliation in border areas

The Minister of Labour said that 45 industrial council agreements and 37 wage determinations applied in border areas.[21] Seven industrial council agreements and one wage determination applied specifically to border areas and not to metropolitan areas as well. As at 31 December 1973 ten exemptions had been granted in border areas from council agreements covering the textile industry; clothing industry (Transvaal); furniture industry (Natal); iron, steel, engineering and metallurgical industries (three exemptions); leather industry (general goods section); clothing industry (Eastern Province); clothing industry (Natal); and biscuit manufacturing industry. All of these exemptions, but for those in the clothing industry (Eastern Province and Natal), the biscuit

[19] Hansard 2, col. 65, 13 August.
[20] *S.A. Digest*, 10 May.
[21] Hansard 2, cols. 67—8, 13 August.

manufacturing industry and two in the iron and steel industries, had expired and the employers concerned had not sought their renewal.

One exemption from a wage determination covering the clothing industry in a border area had been granted.

In all instances exemption was granted from wage provisions while in one instance total exemption had been granted. Exemptions from wage provisions were granted subject to the observance of rates determined either on the basis of a percentage of the minimum prescribed rates or in accordance with the scale put forward by the applicants or suggested by the Wage Board. Where applicable, a condition of exemption was that wages actually paid at the time of the application for exemption must not be reduced.

Progress in various border industrial areas [22]

General

In the article referred to earlier in this section, Dr. R. T. Bell said in respect of the border areas aspect of the decentralisation policy: "The fundamental problem then is that the rate of industrialisation in the border areas and its impact on the economic development of the homelands is inadequate in relation to the rate of growth of the homeland population . . . it appears we must conclude that there was a most unfavourable change in the relationship between homeland population growth and the rate of economic development in the border and Bantu areas in the 1960s."

On earnings Dr. Bell concluded "that the average earnings differential between the border areas and the major industrial centres is substantial and increased during the 1960s. This cannot be attributed to industrial decentralisation policy as such. Planned industrialisation in border areas would tend to increase average earnings there relative to other centres by increasing the demand for labour. Nor is there any evidence that there has been a change since 1960 in the criteria used in fixing inter-regional differences in minimum wage rates. The tendencies observed are more simply explained in terms of differences in the relationship between the growth of labour supply and the rate of economic expansion among the various regions."

Dr. Bell's investigation of the decentralisation policy led him to question job creation *per se* as a policy objective.

Natal

The Minister of Transport said that thus far R49 811 145 had been spent on the harbour at Richard's Bay, R14 725 216 on the new rail link between Broodsnyersplaas and Ermelo, R71 619 908 on relaying the railway line between Ermelo and Vryheid, and R99 503 683 on the new line between Vryheid and Richard's Bay.[23]

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[22] In earlier reports the Decentralisation Board described developments in specific areas. Its reports for 1972 and 1973 contained no such information.

Triomf Fertilizer Investments decided to establish a R66 million phosphoric acid plant at Richard's Bay. It is anticipated that the factory will begin production in October 1976 and will have an annual productive capacity of 400 000 tons of phosphoric acid.[24]

The R68 million Alusaf smelter at Richard's Bay completed major extensions in May.[25]

Prospects for the development of a R200 million titanium industry at Richard's Bay under the sponsorship of the IDC appear to be favourable.[26]

Development at Newcastle proceeds apace. The ISCOR steelworks has brought 10 000 construction workers into the area and R100 million has been spent on the development of the infrastructure. The new blast furnace is due to be completed by early 1976 and should have a daily capacity of 4 300 tons. The main railway line was relocated through the industrial area, a new railway station was built, and a marshalling yard costing R18 million is due for completion in 1977. Work has begun on a new R35 million railway line from Newcastle to Volksrust which is due to be completed in 1978. ISCOR plans to be employing 13 000 people at Newcastle by the year 2 000. Estimates are that the town's population will rise from 19 500 to 100 000 Whites, from 7 500 to 58 000 Indians, and from 100 000 to 164 000 Africans.[27]

Eastern Cape

In December 1973 the *Daily Dispatch* issued a survey of industrialist's views in the East London area entitled *The East London—King William's Town Area 1973: And its Prospects for 1974—1978*. This indicated that in the three years from 1970 to 1973 White wages in the area had increased by 43,7 percent while Black wages had risen by 68,7 percent. What was interesting was that while White wages had risen at the rate forecast by industrialists in a previous 1970 survey, Black earnings which had been expected to rise by 16 percent rose at a very much greater rate. About 56 percent of the industrialists who responded felt that growth prospects for the region over the next ten years were reasonable or better. Of this 56 percent, 19 percent thought prospects were good, and 6 percent thought they were excellent.

Other decentralised areas

As stated earlier in this section Dassenberg and Darling in the Western Cape now qualify for decentralisation assistance in respect of Coloured labour. In announcing this decision the then Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr. J. C. Heunis, said: "On account of problems now developing in the Cape Peninsula in respect of factors such as the provision of ground for residential areas, housing, transport and other things, it has now been decided to go ahead and encourage the shifting of industrial development from the Peninsula to the Mamre/Darling area. In this connection, a new growth point situated at Mamre and to be known as Dassenberg, is being prepared for the establishment of industry based on Coloured labour." [28]

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[23] Hansard 3, cols 147 – 8, 20 August.
[24] *Star*, 30 April.
[25] *Sunday Times*, 25 August.
[26] *Star*, 15 October.
[27] *Sunday Times*, 14 April.

(See also the section on commerce and industry in the chapter on the "African Homelands" and the section on the Coloured Development Corporation for further information on decentralisation.)

EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE

Brief notes on employment and earnings in agriculture in 1972 were given on pages 235—6 of last year's *Survey*. On 12 November the *Star* carried a brief report on the preliminary results of the 1972/73 agricultural census. This indicated that the average monthly *cash* wage paid to the country's 1 468 105 farm workers was about R11,50 per month in August 1973 compared with R9,92 the previous year, an increase of some 16 percent. Payments in kind averaged R3,50 a month compared with less than R3 the previous year. Domestic workers on farms were receiving an average cash wage of R7,40 per month compared with R5,58 in 1972, while payments in kind averaged R3,40 per month. Regular farm workers in the Cape were considerably better paid than their counterparts in the other provinces.

The Minister of Statistics gave the following numbers for Africans resident on White-owned farms in 1970 [1]:

	Number	*Percentage*
Cape . . .	562 761	17,0
Natal . . .	483 637	14,6
O.F.S. . .	786 449	23,8
Transvaal . .	1 477 718	44,6
	3 310 565	100,0

The Minister of Agriculture said that according to agricultural censuses, the number of regular and casual African farm workers on White farms increased marginally from 1 387 200 in 1968/69 to 1 391 300 in 1971/72.[2] On the other hand, the African farm population had increased at an annual rate of 4,3 percent in the decade 1960 to 1970. This rate was considerably higher than the average growth rate of 2,97 percent of the African population as a whole. The Minister said this indicated that, over the decade, White farms had had to accommodate a substantial portion of the overflow of both the homelands and particularly the towns and cities. These people had to be provided for either directly or indirectly by White farmers.

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[28] *Cape Herald*, 6 April.

[1] Hansard 7, col. 506, 20 September.

[2] Sy Ed. H. Schoeman. *Bantoe-Arbeid in die Suid-Afrikaanse Landbou*. Referaat gelewer . . . voor die 21ste Algemene Kongres van die Suid-Afrikaanse Buro vir Rasse-Aangeleenthede. Pretoria, 20 September.

The Minister gave some examples of the remuneration of regular farm workers from which the following table has been constructed:

Average Annual Remuneration of Regular Farm Workers
1959/60

	Cash *R*	*Kind* *R*	*Total* *R*
Western Transvaal	52,80	104,40	157,20
Transvaal Highveld	41,60	86,90	128,50
North-Western O.F.S.	40,20	126,20	166,40

1971/72

	Cash *R*	*Percentage increase*	*Kind* *R*	*Percentage increase*	*Total* *R*	*Percentage increase*
Western Transvaal . .	92,52	75,2	182,40	74,7	274,92	74,9
Transvaal Highveld . .	132,60	218,8	134,75	55,1	267,35[3]	108,1
North-Western O.F.S. .	76,76	91,0	197,58	56,6	274,34	64,9

The Minister pointed out that the Government had decided to encourage the erection of housing on an acceptable standard for farm labour. Since 1970 loans for this purpose amounting to R723 166 had been made through the Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure. However, applications for this sort of assistance had shown a considerable decline over the last two years and the Government was rather unhappy about the situation.

Mrs. Merle Lipton [4] pointed out that there was a sizeable *real* increase in black farm wages, admittedly from a very low base, between 1961/62 and 1968/69—a period of rapid growth and modernisation in the agricultural sector. At the same time the Black/White wage gap remained more or less static. Her investigation led her to conclude that: "Growth in agriculture has not then been accompanied by immiserisation. Black employment has remained high and wages have risen, even in this backward sector . . . This does not mean that wages are satisfactory: on farms they remain appallingly low and the differential both with white and with black urban wages is wide."

In May, Mr. Braam Raubenheimer, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, urged farmers gradually to limit the employment of (great) numbers of Black workers and replace them with better paid, better accommodated, and more efficient labour. He also said that it would profit them to give attention to housing, paid leave, and hours of work.[5]

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[3] There was a slight error here. The Minister's total read R265,35.

[4] Merle Lipton. *White farming a case study of change in South Africa. In.* The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics. Vol. XII(1), March, 1974, pp. 42—61.

The Afrikaans-language programme "Monitor" of the South African Broadcasting Corporation broadcast a survey of the working conditions of farm labourers in August. This was based on taped telephone conversations with farmers and the revelations provoked shock. The programme called forth an angry reaction from farmers.[6]

The South African Agricultural Union later published guidelines on wages and working conditions of farm labour. These included the suggestion that a cash wage of R40 a month in addition to payments in kind would be reasonable.[7]

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development told the House of Assembly that there were 15 317 labour tenants registered as being on farms in Natal at the end of 1973. Although 935 had been found to be "redundant", none had been evicted or resettled.[8]

On the question of prisoners hired out as farm labourers in 1973, the Minister of Prisons said that 331 inspections were carried out into the housing, feeding and working conditions of such prisoners. Conditions on seven farms were found to be unsatisfactory, and in three cases the supply of parolees was terminated, while in the other four the supply was suspended until facilities had been improved.[9]

On 10 January the National Council of Women addressed a letter to the Minister of Labour on the subject of farm labour asking, *inter alia*, for "the introduction of a minimum wage, limited hours of work, payment for overtime, annual leave and other conditions applicable to labour in industry". The N.C.W. went on to say: "We understand that there are conditions of living in a rural community which make wages in kind desirable but we think this should be only a certain proportion of the wages." In response, the Secretary for Labour said that the introduction of suitable measures had been considered on several occasions in the past but they were found to be impracticable.[10]

The Government repealed all the Masters and Servants Laws which critics had seen as feudal instruments. (See relevant section of this chapter.)

A Department of Statistics *News Release* dated 11 July gave data, based on a complete survey of all boards, on employment and gross cash earnings of employees of control boards established under the Marketing Act. These statistics relate to the first quarter of 1974 and monthly averages and percentage increases over 1973 have been calculated by the writer:

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[5] *Transvaler*, 2 and 3 May.

[6] *Rapport*, 11 August; *Star*, 13 and 22 August; *Sunday Tribune*, 18 August.

[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 October.

[8] Hansard 8, col. 549, 24 September.

[9] Hansard 7, cols. 505—6, 20 September.

[10] *N.C.W. News*, April 1974.

	Numbers employed	Percentage increase	Average monthly gross earnings	Percentage increase
		R		
White	1 647	0,9	451	17,5
Coloured	184	8,9	60	27,7
Asian	2	0,0	—	—
African	588	9,3	75	23,0
	2 421			

EMPLOYMENT IN MINING

According to *Mining Statistics, 1973* issued by the Department of Mines, the average numbers of persons employed in mining during that year, together with the percentage increase over 1972 calculated by the writer, were [1]:

	All Mines	Percentage increase	Gold mines only	Percentage increase	Coal mines only	Percentage increase
White . . .	85 277	1,9	37 598	−0,1	7 276	−2,9
Coloured . .	8 454	6,8	405	14,7	337	602,1
Asian . . .	741	1,5	19	−9,5	249	−2,4
African . .	641 020	8,1	392 441	4,8	65 576	−2,9
	735 492	7,3	430 463	4,4	73 438	−2,5

The gold and coal mines between them employed 68½ percent of the people employed in mining in 1973. Other main mining activities, together with employment figures, were: quarries and salt, 21 395; diamonds, 20 421; asbestos, 20 033; copper, 15 744; manganese, 9 211; chrome, 5 874; iron, 5 549; tin, 2 750; and works associated with mining activities, 57 824. Nearly 73 000 workers were employed in other unspecified types of mining.

Calculating from figures given for the totals paid in salaries, wages, and allowances, the monthly average cash earnings per head, together with the percentage increase over 1972, were:

	All Mines	Percentage increase	Gold mines only	Percentage increase	Coal mines only	Percentage increase
	R		R		R	
White . . .	454	16,1	475	20,0	505	20,0
Coloured . .	95	15,9	143	32,4	—[2]	—[2]
Asian . . .	149	9,2	107	4,9	123	26,8
African . .	32	33,3	29	38,1	28	33,3

There was a notable improvement in both monetary and real wages of all workers between 1972 and 1973. On the other hand, given the very low absolute level of African wages, although the ratio of White to African wages narrowed on average, the wage gap expressed in monetary terms widened by a substantial amount, by more in terms of cash than the entire monthly average wage of the African miner. Africans employed on the diamond and copper mines with average monthly earnings of R45 and R42 per month, respectively, were considerably better off than those employed on other mines. Those employed on asbestos, chrome and tin mines were receiving the lowest cash wages of between R22 and R23 per month, on average. The September issue of the Department of Statistics' quarterly *Bulletin of Statistics* indicated that by May 1974 White average earnings on all mines had risen to R521 per month, Coloured earnings to R128, Asian earnings to R166, and African earnings to R38.

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[1] R.P. 44/1974, Tables 1 and 3.

[2] While the average number of Coloured workers in service was given as 337, the number actually at work was only [illegible]. This distorts the average monthly wage too seriously for a meaningful comparison to be given.

The value of the rations, accommodation and other benefits provided for Black workers was not stated. White mine workers also receive certain benefits not taken into account here.

Two increases in the *minimum* rates of remuneration for African mineworkers granted in 1973, 26 percent in March and a further 10 percent in December, were recorded on pages 240 and 246 of last year's *Survey*. This brought the *minimum* cash wage of African mineworkers laid down by the Chamber of Mines to 72 cents a shift or R18,72 a month of 26 shifts *underground*, or 55 cents a shift or R14,30 for a month of 26 shifts *on the surface*. At the same time Anglo American Corporation, Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, and Rustenburg Platinum Mines raised their *minima* to 90 cents a shift or R23,40 for a month of 26 shifts *underground*, and 80 cents a shift or R20,80 *on the surface*.[3]

In January De Beers Consolidated Mines announced a new *minimum* cash rate of R2,00 per shift (R52,00 per month) for Black workers at its Kimberley, Koffiefontein, and Finch mines.[4]

The annual negotiations between the Chamber of Mines and the White unions revolved not only around wage increases but also around the introduction of a five-day week, the latter issue being still unresolved when this *Survey* went to press. In May, an increase of R48 raising the *basic* minimum of White miners from R330 to R378 per month was granted, as was a similar increase for artisans working on the mines. In June, White officials belonging to the Underground Officials' Association, the Mine Surface Officials' Association, and the S.A. Technical Officials' Association, received an increase of 12 per cent or about R50 a month, raising the lower level of wages to about R400 per month.[5]

At the same time, the Chamber of Mines announced an increase on gold and coal mines in the basic minimum rate for Black underground workers from the previous 72 cents to R1,20 per shift (R31,20 a month) and for surface workers from 55 cents to R1,00 per shift (R26 per month). This constituted a two-thirds increase on the previous basic rates and it was reported that Anglo and J.C.I., the previous pace-setters, were to conform to the Chamber's new minima.[6]

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[3] *Financial Mail*, 7 December, 1973.

[4] *Star*, 26 January

[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 March, 16 May, 18 and 19 June; *Financial Mail*, 19 April.

A further increase in basic minimum rates for Black mineworkers on gold and coal mines to come into effect on 1 December, was announced in October. Black workers *underground* had their basic minimum rates raised from R1,20 to R1,60 per shift (R41, 60 per month), while surface workers had their rate raised from R1,00 to R1,20 (R31,20 per month). The Chamber of Mines issued figures which showed that average cash earnings of Black underground workers on the gold mines worked out at R55,95 during September 1974.[7]

The *Financial Mail* of 25 October had it that the new rate of R1,60 a shift represented a compromise between progressives and conservatives on the Gold Producers' Committee of the Chamber of Mines. The progressives had advocated a rate of R1,80 and the conservatives a rate of R1,50 per shift. The *FM* pointed out that Gold Fields, for example, had increased average Black earnings by 83,4 per cent in a year, but at the same time working profits had risen by 107 per cent and distribution to shareholders had more than doubled from R56 million to a record R120 million.

The high price of gold, leading to the sinking of new shafts or the re-opening of marginal mines, coupled with discoveries of base mineral deposits in the north-western Cape, indicated a very optimistic future for S.A.'s mining industry.[8] All the gold mining houses reported record profit increases. In this connection, for example, the *Rand Daily Mail's* mining editor, Adam Payne, commented on one mine where rioting had occurred, that while its net profit for the past four quarters amounted to R21 323 000 out of a working profit of some R50 million, an increase of 50 per cent in Black wages would cost shareholders about 7 cents a share when dividend expectations were about 70 cents.[9]

There was a great deal of comment in the press and financial and technical journals on labour shortages and labour supply in the mining sector. It appeared that the mines would and could mechanise to a much greater extent in the next five to ten years, but would, nevertheless, remain heavily reliant upon Black labour in the short and even medium term. Almost every chairman of a mining group mentioned these and associated problems in annual reports published during the year. Certain tentative steps in the use of African labour in more skilled occupations were briefly mentioned on page 241 of last year's *Survey*. This advance in Black occupational mobility, such as it was, had the concurrence of the predominantly White unions in the mining industry. Very little hard data on the progress being made with the training and employment of Africans in more skilled jobs became available during 1974. In his presidential address, the outgoing president of the Chamber of Mines, Mr. R. A. Plumbridge, said: "Shortage of labour, escalating labour costs and expanding operations all dictate a movement from labour intensive towards capital intensive operations. Research directed at improving the productivity of all employees is a top priority. The first steps now being taken towards the mechanisation of stoping in gold mines point the way to such improvements."[10]

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[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 15, 17 and 19 June; *Financial Mail*, 21 June.
[7] *Star*, 21 October; *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 and 23 October.
[8] See for e.g. *Financial Mail*, 11 October.
[9] *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 June.

The incoming president of the Chamber, Mr. A. W. S. Schumann, announced a crash programme costing up to R150 million aimed at husbanding the labour resources of the industry. The goal would be the introduction of mechanised rock-breaking at the work face which would result in concentrated mining.[11]

In response to a question in the House of Assembly on the number of Africans performing work on the mines that was reserved for Whites, the Minister of Labour gave the following reply:[12]

> "In order to prevent misunderstanding, it is necessary for me to say that, pursuant to agreements negotiated between the Mine Workers Union on the one hand and the Chamber of Mines and non-members of the said Chamber on the other hand, exemptions which permit properly trained mine Bantu to perform, under White supervision, work which was previously reserved for Whites, are granted in respect of particular types of work on the mines concerned and not in respect of a given number of Bantu at a particular mine. In the circumstances, the information requested by the hon. member is not readily available."

Brief information on the sources of supply of African workers on S.A.'s mines has been given in past issues of this *Survey*.[13] This matter received closer and more anxious attention in 1974 after the Portuguese coup, the institution of a Frelimo-dominated provisional government in Mozambique, and the temporary suspension by President Banda of the flow of Malawian mineworkers.

An indication of the importance of foreign African workers to the mines is shown by the composition of the African labour force of members and contractors of Mine Labour Organisations Limited, i.e. most of the gold mines and certain coal and platinum mines, as at 31 December 1973 [14]:

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[10] Chamber of Mines of South Africa. *Eighty-fourth annual report, 1973*, p. 11.
[11] *Star*, 1 July.
[12] Hansard 3, col. 176, 23 August.
[13] e.g. page 239 of the 1973 issue.
[14] Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Limited. Report for the year 1973.

Place of origin	*Number*		*Percentage*	
Cape	63 607		15,07	
Natal and Zululand	4 188		0,99	
Orange Free State	7 613		1,80	
Transvaal	10 813		2,56	
Sub-Total		86 221		20,42
Lesotho	87 229		20,66	
Botswana	16 811		3,98	
Swaziland	4 526		1,07	
Sub-Total		108 566		25,71
East Coast		99 424		23,55
Tropicals		127 970		30,32
Total		422 181		100,00

The employment of African miners recruited by this agency increased by 7 848 or 1,89 per cent between 1972 and 1973. The recruitment of native-born Africans dropped by 956 or 1,1 per cent, while employment of foreign Africans rose by 8 804 so that the latter constituted 79,58 per cent of the work force in 1973 compared with 78,96 per cent in 1972. Recruitment from Swaziland and Mozambique increased as it did rather markedly from Lesotho, with a decline in the numbers recruited from Botswana and the tropical territories (Malawi).

Anglo American Corporation was the largest single employer of labour from this source with 118 315 workers—an increase of 329 or 0,3 per cent over 1972. The collieries as a whole employed only 32 824 workers recruited by this agency—a decline of 1 950 or 5,6 per cent since 1972.

The reliance of the gold mines, in particular, on foreign African labour was further emphasised by the Minister of Mines when he gave the following information on their employment on such mines over the past five years [15]:

Country of origin	*1969*	*1970*	*1971*	*1972*	*1973*
Lesotho	59 407	61 993	64 214	66 805	76 114
Botswana	19 595	19 549	20 511	19 864	20 339
Swaziland	5 551	6 147	5 656	4 744	4 821
Angola	6 076	4 935	4 986	4 416	2 745
Rhodesia	3	3	2	3	2
Transkei	55 738	47 907	39 430	42 555	47 139
Caprivi	222	175	274	115	—
Malawi	52 901	77 329	92 397	106 379	109 723
Mozambique	88 352	92 651	95 900	80 242	83 387
	287 845	310 689	323 370	325 123	344 270

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[15] Hansard 6 cols. 429–430, 10 September. (To include, as the Minister did, the Transkei as a foreign country would seem just a little premature.)

The Minister went on to say that it was not considered to be in the public interest to furnish information either on the amount paid to the Governments of each of the home countries by way of deferred pay, or the form in which such payments were made. Calculating from figures given by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, it appeared that in 1973 there were some 475 387 foreign Africans in the Republic and of these 317 782 or 66,9 per cent were employed on the gold mines while a further 88 156 or 18,5 per cent were employed on other mines.[16]

In April a Wenela aircraft carrying Malawian mineworkers crashed after taking off from Francistown, Botswana, for Malawi. Seventy-seven people, including 72 Malawi miners were killed.[17] Malawi suspended the recruiting of its nationals as mineworkers and banned Wenela from flying into our out of Malawi. A special airlift by Air Malawi for returning mineworkers waiting to go home to their mother country was instituted, with all normal immigration and customs formalities at Jan Smuts Airport being temporarily waived.[18] An enquiry into the causes of the crash was set up.

In August there was an announcement that from July 1975 Malawi would permit no further recruitment of Malawian mineworkers for S.A.'s gold mines.[19] In September the ruling Malawi Congress Party called upon President Banda to stop recruiting for S.A.'s mines permanently. President Banda did not disagree with the proposal but asked for time to consider the matter.[20] On 16 September the president of the S.A. Chamber of Mines, Mr. A. W. S. Schumann, and the head of its labour recruiting agency flew to Malawi for talks with President Banda. On their return the Chamber issued a brief statement, saying: "Some arrangements relating to mine employment which are not favoured by the Malawi Government were discussed."[21]

The enquiry into the April aircrash found that the accident was due to the "act, default or negligence of Shell and BP Marketing Services Pty. or of people employed by the company". The firm had been responsible for the accidental mixing of aircraft fuels. Wenela was criticised on a number of points: although Francistown airport was licensed in its name and it managed air operations, supply of aircrew and aircraft services, no airport manager had been appointed with overall and ultimate responsibility for the running of the airport; there was some laxity in checking out aircraft before flights and, more paticularly, there had been no responsible person present when the plane was refuelled on 3 April; passengers were not shown the location of emergency exits or instructed in their use before take-off; fire equipment at the airport consisted of two trucks, minor foam tenders and various hand-hold fire extinguishers while no-one was responsible for fire-crew training and the equipment was inadequate and poorly maintained; there were no first-aid facilities, blankets, stretchers or ambulances at the airport and no vehicles were available equipped for crash or rescue duties; no grid map of the aerodrome, or its surroundings, was available and the crews had no equipment to cut through the wire perimeter fence with the result that it took airport personnel at least 30 minutes to reach the scene of the crash, although it occurred only 3 kilometres short of the main runway. However, the board of enquiry was unable to determine to what extent the inadequate passenger briefing or poor rescue facilities had affected the outcome of the accident.[22]

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[16] Hansard 10, cols. 686 – 7, 8 October.

[17] *Star*, 4 April; *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 April.

[18] *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 April; *Star*, 19 April.

[19] *Sunday Times*, 11 August.

[20] *Star*, 9 September; *Financial Mail*, 13 September.

[21] *Star*, 17 and 19 September; *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September.

A second round of talks with the Malawian President took place in November and it was also announced that the Rhodesian Government had agreed to allow Rhodesian Africans to be recruited for work on S.A. gold mines.[23]

In June a development conference attended by civil servants from Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, discussed a proposal for the formation of a labour bloc with a joint labour policy towards S.A.[24] The Lesotho Minister of Commerce and Industries, Mr. J. Moitse, later said [25]: "The basis of South Africa's whole mining industry derived from the backs and muscles of our people. So it is not too much to ask that they be given better financial and social opportunities . . . We do not want to withdraw Basotho workers from South Africa. But we are fast reaching the stage where we must protect our people there." Mr. Moitse followed up his earlier statement in October by saying that the migrant labour system should be changed to enable Basotho mineworkers to live with their families at mine compounds. He called for a meaningful labour agreement between Lesotho and South Africa based on Lesotho's needs and "in line with civilised labour practices".[26]

In April the S.A. press commented on the system whereby up to 60 per cent of the wages earned by African mineworkers from Mozambique was deferred and paid to them in the mother country in escudos at the official rate to the rand. At the same time, in terms of the Mozambique Convention of 1928 as revised in a 1964 agreement, the deferred wages of these mineworkers were paid in gold at the official price thus allowing the Lisbon Government to make considerable profits on the exchange, given the high price of gold on the free market.[27]On 25 June, seven Africans were killed and a further six were wounded at the Ressano Garcia border post when 600 Mozambique mineworkers returned home. The Portuguese army attributed the incident to agitators who had incited the miners not to allow customs men to inspect their baggage. However, the mineworkers themselves attributed the dispute to money matters including rand/escudo exchange rates.[28] In July there were demonstrations in Lourenço Marques against the shipment of R3 million worth of gold to Lisbon.[29] In September there were reports that the Frelimo-dominated provisional Government was likely to re-negotiate the terms of the existing Mozambique convention. It was felt that Mozambique could not afford to abrogate the existing treaties thereby cutting off a lucrative source of revenue. It was estimated, for example, that in 1972 some R20 million in deferred wages of mineworkers were transmitted to Mozambique at the official gold price.[30]

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[22] *Financial Mail*, 27 September.

[23] *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 November.

[24] *Sunday Times*, 23 June.

[25] *Sunday Express*, 29 September.

[26] *Star*, 28 October.

[27] *Sunday Times*, 14 April; *Financial Mail*, 26 April; *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 May.

In April the chairman of De Beers, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, announced that no further migrant labour would be employed on the Kimberley mine.[31] This was followed by a further announcement to the effect that the Anglo American Corporation had allocated R60 million, spread over several years, to improve the accommodation and amenities for African mineworkers at ten of its eleven gold mines. A third ultra-modern hostel would also be erected at Western Deep Levels.[32]

The Minister of Mines gave the following figures for fatal accidents on the mines [33]:

	1971	*1972*	*1973*
White	32	31	43
Coloured	4	2	5
Indian	—	1	—
African	729	666	689
	765	700	737

Over seventy per cent of the fatalities in the last three years occurred on the gold mines. The death rate on the gold mines per 1 000 persons at work *underground* was 1,05 for Whites and 1,57 for Blacks in 1973.[34]

Brief comment on the September 1973 violence at Anglo American's Western Deep Levels Mine was recorded on pages 242—246 of last year's *Survey*. Sixteen African mineworkers charged with public violence after this event and released on bail subsequently disappeared.[35] Bail was estreated and a prosecutor said that the trial was unlikely to proceed.

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[28] *Star*, 25 and 26 June; *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 and 27 June and 4 July; *Rapport*, 30 June.
[29] *Star*, 10, 11 and 17 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 July.
[30] *Sunday Express*, 22 September; *Star*, 24 September and 22 October.
[31] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 April.
[32] *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 May; *Financial Mail*, 17 May; *Star*, 25 June.
[33] Hansard 2, cols. 103—4, 16 August.
[34] Chamber of Mines of South Africa. *Eighty-fourth annual report, 1973*, p. 73.
[35] *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 January.

In February, police used teargas, batons and dogs to quell a
iot between Coloured people and Africans at a soccer match at
he East Rand Proprietary Mine in Boksburg.[36] Later that month
olice were placed on standby after a faction fight between
Basotho and Xhosa workers at Anglo American's Welkom Gold
Mine in the Orange Free State. Nine African mineworkers were
illed in the clash. About 3 650 Basotho mineworkers were
epatriated in the wake of the disturbances. An enquiry including
epresentatives of Lesotho, the Transkei and the Ciskei was set up.[37]
Fresh fighting broke out at another two Anglo American mines,
Western Holdings and Free State Geduld, on 16 February. A
urther fifteen African mineworkers were killed during the ensuing
week and production at these mines came to a standstill. A further
500 Basotho and some 500 Xhosa were repatriated.[38] In March
roups of workers on these mines were addressed by Mr. Lennox
Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Mr. George Matanzima,
Transkeian Minister of Justice, Chief David Seiso and Mr. Albert
. Mohale (Secretary for the Interior) of Lesotho, all of whom
tressed Black solidarity.[39]

Forty-nine African mineworkers later appeared in the
Welkom Magistrate's Court on various charges connected with
he disturbances.[40] A committee of enquiry under the chair-
nanship of the Manager of Welkom Gold Mine, including
epresentatives from the Transkei, Ciskei and Lesotho sat *in*
amera to inquire into the "specific grievances of Black employees
t the time of the tribal disturbances which started on February
." An Anglo American spokesman said that the committee's fin-
ings would not be made public. The spokesman went on to say:
However, it (the committee) saw no evidence of any serious
rievance or complaint against the management of the mine." [41]

Further violence broke out at another Anglo American gold
nine, Western Deep Levels, near Carletonville on 14 April. Three
Africans were killed and thirty injured with the police being called
o restore order.[42] Further numbers of Basotho workers were
epatriated. Another seven African miners were killed in yet a
urther outbreak of violence at Western Deep Levels on 16 April.[43]
Five Africans later appeared in court.[44] Further Basotho workers
eft for Lesotho, while Malawian workers asked to be
epatriated.[45]

In May, two African mineworkers were killed in another out-
reak of violence at the Loraine Gold Mine, Welkom, and police

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Rand Daily Mail, 4 February.
Rand Daily Mail, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 20 February.
Rand Daily Mail, 20 February; *Financial Mail*, 8 March.
Financial Mail, 15 March.
Rand Daily Mail, 6 March.
Ibid., 10 April.
Star, 15 April.
Ibid., 17 April.
Ibid., 18 April.
Rand Daily Mail, 18 April.

were called in to restore order.[46] In June rioting broke out at the Harmony Gold Mine in the Orange Free State causing four deaths, and the disturbances appeared to be related to wage demands. Again police were called in to restore order.[47] A day later there were fresh disturbances at the Merriespruit Gold Mine, with police being called in, and an African mineworker being killed.[48] Twenty-one African mineworkers from the Loraine Gold Mine appeared in court in June on charges arising from the May disturbances.[49]

A strike at Rand Refinery, Germiston, in July lasted a day and ended when African workers accepted a wage increase and free board and lodging.[50] A strike of a different kind took place in August when White miners struck over the employment by a subcontractor of three Coloured welders at Palabora Mining Company.[51]

A further three African mineworkers were killed in a riot at Western Holdings on 31 August.[52] The wave of violence continued with two Africans being shot and killed and four wounded when police opened fire on about 400 rioting mineworkers at Western Platinum Mine near Rustenburg on 29 September.[53]

About 150 policemen used teargas to control a riot at the ERPM mine, Germiston, after a Botswana miner had been killed on 13 October. About 1 500 African miners refused to start work the next day.[54] The situation deteriorated over the next few days with Malawian miners refusing to work and asking to be sent home.[55] During the night of 20 October mine security forces used teargas and dogs to disperse about 1 000 miners at this mine.[56] Although 300 Malawians returned to work the next day, 1 000 Shangaan workers from Mozambique struck.[57] Police resumed duty outside a compound on 23 October[58] and virtually no Shangaan miners went underground that day.[59] The situation returned to normal after 200 Shangaan miners were repatriated to Mozambique.[60]

A Malawian mineworker was stabbed and killed in a fight at a mine hostel cinema at Western Deep Levels goldmine on 21 October, sparking off a riot with police being called in to restore order.[61] Malawian workers at the mine demanded to be sent home.[62] By 23 October 1 400 mineworkers had come out on

[46] *Star*, 29 May.
[47] *Rand Daily Mail* and *Star*, 10 June.
[48] *Star*, 12 June.
[49] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 June.
[50] *Ibid.*, 24 July.
[51] *Rapport*, 18 August; *Star*, 19 August; *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 August.
[52] *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 September.
[53] *Ibid.*, 1 October.
[54] *Star*, 14 October.
[55] *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 October, *Star*, 17 October.
[56] *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 October.
[57] *Ibid*, 22 October.
[58] *Star*, 23 October.
[59] *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 October.
[60] *Ibid.*, 25 October.
[61] *Ibid.*, 22 October.
[62] *Star*, 22 October.

strike.[63] By the end of the month about 1 050 Malawian workers had returned to work but 350 were still insisting on repatriation.[64]

A further two African mineworkers were killed and a third wounded on 23 October in the wake of labour unrest at the Hartebeesfontein gold mine. The trouble had followed wage demands of R6 a shift from "boss boys" and team leaders who were not satisfied with the news that increased rates of pay would come into effect in December.[65] Teargas, dogs and batons were used to disperse rioting miners and three policemen were slightly injured in the confrontation. About 2 000 mineworkers came out on strike the next day.[66] A further 750 men joined the strike on 25 October.[67] By 26 October all the men had returned to work.[68]

On 13 November, about 1 500 Malawian miners struck at the West Rand Consolidated gold mine near Krugersdorp and asked to be repatriated. Some 100 policemen with dogs were placed on standby.[69] One Shangaan miner was killed and fifteen others injured in a riot at Western Deep Levels on 17 November.[70]

The question of trade unions for African miners received some attention during the year. In May, the general secretary designate of the S.A. Electrical Workers' Association, Mr. Ben Nicholson, said that the union had accepted "in principle" that "artisan aides" on the gold and coal mines should be organised into a parallel union.[71] Anglo American Corporation announced in August that it was prepared to recognise and negotiate with African unions, to give such unions full recruiting rights, and to give them organisational assistance with the proviso that such unions had to be run by "responsible" people and had to show that they were "fully representative" of the workers concerned.[72] The Minister of Labour, Mr. Marais Viljoen, issued the following statement in the wake of Anglo's announcement:

> "The Government does not intend reviewing the organising of Bantu workers again, and believes that it is in the interests of all concerned that the status quo be maintained. The Government feels that the existing statutory communication channels for Bantu workers should be expanded and properly utilised. At the same time the Government expresses its disapproval at the action of certain trade union organisations and certain employer bodies which go out of their way in circumventing the policy of the Government. In such cases the Government will take action in terms of the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1956." [73]

Anglo American responded with a further statement in which it said that while it "continues to favour recognising and dealing with any trade union properly constituted and properly represented" it would not act unilaterally if the Government was not prepared to sanction such action or if other sections of the industrial community did not support it.[74] The general secretary of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, said: "The Minister of Labour must come out of his ideological ivory tower. He needs to recognise that there is increasing concern among industrialists and entrepreneurs in South Africa that the present system of industrial relations is not satisfactory and does not spell good business for them. He must stop being a threat to both our internal and external security." [75]

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[63] *Ibid.*, 23 October.
[64] *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 November.
[65] *Star*, 23 October.
[66] *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 October.
[67] *Star*, 25 October.
[68] *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 October.
[69] *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 and 15 November.
[70] *Ibid.*, 18 November.
[71] *Star*, 13 May.
[72] *Star*, 13 and 14 August; *Financial Mail*, 16 August.
[73] *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 August.

In August, Consolidated Gold Fields Ltd. donated R186 000 to the *Star's* TEACH fund for building junior secondary schools in Soweto at a cost of about R45 000 each.[76]

During the year, the United Mineworkers Union in the U.S. and the Alabama state authorities petitioned the U.S. Commissioner of Customs to ban S.A. coal from the U.S. under Section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930, which prohibits the importation of goods produced by indentured labour under the threat of penal sanctions. The relevant S.A. legislation upon which these arguments focused were the Masters and Servants Laws and Section 15 of the Bantu Labour Act of 1964. This legislation was subsequently repealed by the S.A. Government.[77] (See relevant section of this chapter.)

EMPLOYMENT IN CONSTRUCTION

The employment figures given below are based on a monthly sample survey of private construction companies conducted by the Department of Statistics and relate to the month of April 1974. Average monthly earnings have been calculated by the writer. The sample survey is revised in January each year so that the figures are not strictly comparable with previous monthly or annual figures. However, percentage increases in employment and earnings since May 1973 have been calculated by the writer to give a *rough* idea of movement in this respect [1]:

	Average numbers employed	*Percentage increase over May 1973*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* R	*Percentage increase over May 1973*
White	61 900	5,1	411	0,7
Coloured	51 800	9,1	150	8,7
Asian	5 900	3,5	199	2,6
African	284 100	2,6	76	7,0
	403 700			

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[74] *Ibid.*
[75] *Ibid.*
[76] *Star*, 13 August.
[77] *Financial Mail*, 20 September.
[1] Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, vol. 8(3), September 1974.

The Bantu Building Workers' Act of 1951 enabled Africans to be trained and employed as skilled building workers for work in African areas only at lower rates of pay than workers of other races. The Minister of Labour said that up to the end of 1973 altogether 6 853 Africans had obtained registration as building workers in terms of this Act. This is an increase of nearly 14 per cent over the 1972 figure. The main trades in which these workers had been trained were: blocklaying, 86; bricklaying 3 381; bricklaying and plastering, 347; carpentry, 1 267; carpentry and joinery, 54; electrical wiring, 37; joinery, 1; painting, 621; plastering, 515; and plumbing, 544. A further 474 Africans were in training under this Act in 1973.[2] (See, however, the section of this chapter on "manpower" where 12 557 Africans were registered under the Bantu Building Workers Act, a figure which presumably includes people who qualified before the Act came into effect.) The minimum wages of Africans registered in terms of this Act are governed by the relevant Determination published under Government Notice No. R. 1206 of 13 July 1973 and increases were tied in 1973 to rises in the official consumer price index. As at 31 October 1974 the prevailing minima for qualified "Bantu building workers" were 76 cents an hour or R34,20 for a forty-five hour week in certain Cape areas, 70 cents an hour (R31,50 per week) on the Witwatersrand, Durban, Pretoria and Port Elizabeth, 67 cents an hour (R30,15 per week) in East London, Pietermaritzburg, Bloemfontein, Kimberley and certain smaller towns, and 62 cents an hour (R27,90 per week) in certain other smaller towns.

From the Department of Labour's 1972 *Manpower Survey*, mentioned under the relevant section of this *Survey*, it appeared that the building industry was a sector where skilled labour shortages were causing considerable strain. Employers' discontent in this regard was expressed in the presidential address to the Durban Master Builders' and Allied Trades Association,[3] by the Rand division of the MBA,[4] and the Building Industries Federation of S.A.[5]

On page 248 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey*, the Minister of Labour's announcement of an investigation by the Industrial Tribunal of job reservation in the building industry was recorded. In January the Minister announced the appointment of four assessors representing the employer parties and an equal number representing registered White and "mixed" (White and Coloured) trade union parties to assist the Industrial Tribunal with its investigations.[6]

At a hearing held in Pretoria on 7 March, a number of prominent employers in the building industry gave evidence of

[2] Hansard 9, cols. 612—3, 1 October.
[3] *Star*, 2 March.
[4] *Ibid.*, 13 February.
[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 May; *Star*, 15 May.
[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 January.

skilled labour shortages to the tribunal while about 100 White workers held a demonstration outside the court. The demonstrators were addressed by Mr. Gert Beetge, secretary of the White Building Workers' Union, who said that he believed the investigation meant that "the watering down of job reservation is a foregone conclusion".[7] On 13 March the White Building Workers' Union held a protest meeting in the Selborne Hall in Johannesburg. This was attended by about 260 White building workers, a number of them immigrants. Mr. Beetge told the meeting that the rapid increase in company profits and Black wages while, so he alleged, White wages remained stationary, would create racial friction "as never before". He went on to say that in the last two years 1 263 exemptions from job reservation determinations had been granted in the building industry in the Transvaal and O.F.S. Further, a survey in September 1973 had shown that 1 569 Black workers were being illegally employed in building jobs reserved for Whites in Johannesburg. Mr. Beetge accused the Minister of Labour of "a cold-blooded sell-out of the White man". On the next day White pickets were positioned outside the building in which the tribunal met.[8]

The northern (Pretoria) and southern (Johannesburg) regional committees of the Industrial Council for the Building Industry, Transvaal, decided against giving evidence. The chairman of the tribunal warned that he might find it necessary to subpoena industrial council officials who refused to give evidence.[9]

In the Transvaal, a new agreement for the building industry was negotiated between employers and trade unions which would allow greater numbers of Black workers to be trained as "operatives" while retaining close watch over the jealously-guarded position of White artisans.[10]

In Johannesburg the City Council and the Department of Community Development embarked on a scheme to build 2 000 houses a year for occupation by Coloured people. This would necessitate the Council hiring White supervisors and instructors to train Coloured and Asian building workers.[11]

EMPLOYMENT IN FINANCE AND COMMERCE

The employment figures given below are based on a complete quarterly survey conducted by the Department of Statistics. They relate to the second quarter of 1974 and the average monthly earnings as well as the percentage increases in employment and earnings have been calculated by the writer [1]:

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[7] *Ibid.*, 8 March.

[8] *Star*, 14 March.

[9] *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 March.

[10] *Sunday Express*, 22 September.

[11] *Star*, 29 July.

[1] Department of Statistics, Statistical News Release dated 17 September.

Banks	*Numbers employed*	*Percentage increase over 1973*	*Average Monthly gross cash earnings*	*Percentage increase over 1973*
			R	
White	48 156	3,5	375	19,4
Coloured . . .	2 280	27,1	129	21,7
Asian	1 036	63,2	162	14,1
African	6 121	5,9	109	23,9
	57 593			

In March it was announced that the following seven prominent African men had been elected as directors of the new African bank which was in the process of being formed: Mr. S. M. Motsuenyane, Mr. S. J. J. Lesolang, Rev. E. S. Sikhakhane, Mr. C. Ramusi, Mr. P. G. Gumede, Mr. A. N. Gadi and Mr. R. R. Mbongwe.[2] The three White directors representing the five major S.A. commercial banks would be: Mr. C. H. Waterson (Barclays), Mr. D. Havenga (Nedbank), and Mr. L. van Niekerk (Standard Bank). Mr. Motsuenyane announced that the five commercial banks would become joint shareholders of 30 per cent of the total equity of R1 000 000 while Blacks would hold the majority of shares.[3] By the middle of October R510 000 had been contributed by African shareholders.[4]

In September, Mr. H. E. Joosub, chairman of the New Republic Bank, an Indian venture, announced that over the past year the Bank increased its assets from R5,162 million to R8,558 million, its public deposits from R4,328 million to R7,506 million, and its net after-tax profits from R56 098 to R92 752.[5]

Four S.A. companies, Rembrandt International, Anglo American Corporation, Roberts Construction, and Leo Raphaely and Sons, contributed the equivalent of U.S. $500 000 to Edesa (a development corporation for Economic Development of Equatorial and Southern Africa). This venture is the brainchild of the S.A. industrialist, Dr. Anton Rupert, and it aims to work closely with the African governments concerned with one of the main criteria for any project being that it should provide maximum local employment. Edesa has received the support of twenty major banks or finance houses, of whom four are American, five German, two Swiss, two British and one Japanese, while the other interests are Canadian, Dutch, South African and Luxembourg.[6]

The World Council of Churches has launched a campaign against banks which apparently support "racist regimes in Southern Africa".[7]

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[2] *African Business*, March 1974.
[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 June.
[4] *African Business*, October 1974.
[5] *Sunday Express*, 22 September.
[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 November 1973; *S.A. Digest*, 10 May 1974.
[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 May.

The News Release mentioned above also gave data on employment and earnings in building societies. These, too, relate to the second quarter of 1974 and are based on complete quarterly surveys. Monthly averages and percentage increases have been calculated by the writer:

Building Societies	*Numbers employed*	*Percentage increase over 1973*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* R	*Percentage increase over 1973*
White	10 088	10,6	343	13,6
Coloured . . .	379	20,7	135	15,4
Asian	209	34,0	225	36,4
African	1 801	4,8	90	18,4
	12 477			

Similar data were given on employment and earnings in insurance companies, also based on complete quarterly surveys. These, too, relate to the second quarter of 1974 and monthly averages and percentage increases have been calculated by the writer.

Insurance Companies	*Numbers employed*	*Percentage increase over 1973*	*Average Monthly gross cash earnings* *R*	*Percentage increase over 1973*
White	25 531	−0,5	412	21,2
Coloured . . .	3 306	−0,4	151	21,8
Asian	814	10,9	238	4,9
African	4 350	4,1	111	23,3
	34 001			

A Department of Statistics News Release dated 11 July gave data, based on quarterly sample surveys, on employment and gross earnings in the wholesale, retail, motor trades and in licensed accommodation establishments. These statistics relate to the first quarter of 1974 and monthly averages and percentage increases have been calculated by the writer.

Wholesale	*Numbers employed*	*Percentage increase over 1973*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* *R*	*Percentage increase over 1973*
White	78 200	1,4	356	6,3
Coloured . . .	21 300	4,4	108	13,7
Asian	10 700	5,9	145	9,9
African	83 700	1,7	71	12,7
	193 900			

White and Asian earnings in the wholesale trade had not kept pace with the rise in the consumer price index between 1973 and

1974 and unless there were suitable adjustments later in the year they would have been further eroded by inflation.

Retail	*Numbers employed*	*Percentage increase over 1973*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings* R	*Percentage increase over 1973*
White	129 300	3,4	195	8,9
Coloured . . .	34 400	4,9	83	7,8
Asian	17 400	3,0	117	12,5
African	115 100	2,7	58	11,5
	296 200			

Here, too, White and Coloured earnings would appear to have been eroded by inflation.

In June the retail chain Pick 'n Pay announced that it would pay a new minimum wage of R100 a month to all workers. In addition to this new basic wage subsidised lunches and teas cost the company R10 per worker and it also paid a R4 per month minimum pension contribution. The management felt that if a company working at under 3 per cent profit before tax could pay wages of this order many other companies making far higher profits could well afford to do the same.[8] Pick 'n Pay's announcement was followed by another retail chain, Woolworths', in August. The chairman announced in his annual report that, from September, his company would pay a minimum of R126 a month to men of all races in Cape Town and Johannesburg, a minimum of R122 in other metropolitan areas, and a minimum of R116 in rural areas.[9] (Minimum wages of the order outlined above are way in advance of those prescribed by the relevant Wage Determinations for the Commercial Distributive Trade in both urban and rural areas.)

Attention was focused on the intricacies of the Group Areas Act which has harmed and continues to harm Coloured and Asian traders. In May, the Coloured Development Corporation contested the validity of a joint venture by Pep Stores (a White concern) and Coloured entrepreneurs in Athlone, Cape Town, which is a "Coloured" group area. The outcome of the court action was unknown when this *Survey* went to press.[10] In July, 35 Indian traders, many of whom had occupied their premises in Prinsloo Street, Pretoria, for fifty years were obliged to vacate their shops in terms of the Group Areas Act and move to premises in the Asian Bazaar. The traders were embittered by this and felt that their White customers would be unlikely to follow them to their new location.[11]

In its statement on labour policy mentioned earlier in this chapter, the S.A. Institute of Race Relations pointed out that:

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[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 June.
[9] *Ibid.*, 29 August.
[10] *Financial Mail*, 24 May.
[11] *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 and 30 July.

"African entrepreneurial activity in the common area is restricted by a Department of Bantu Administration and Development circular issued in 1963 and by the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act read together with Government Notices published in 1968." [12]

The June issue of *African Business*, organ of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, carried articles which briefly described the development of the Chamber, the restrictions imposed upon African traders in "White" areas, and the attempt by the Government to divide the Chamber on "ethnic" lines.

In a thoughtful article entitled *Shopping Facilities for Africans in White Areas*,[13] Mr. G. H. G. Lucas of the Department of Business Economics at the University of South Africa pointed out that restrictions aimed at curtailing trade activities in African townships were in fact limiting African entrepreneurship. He found it odd that "companies, partnerships, financial institutions and wholesalers in particular are not allowed in the townships, even with controlling African shares". Further, that it was strange that Africans were not allowed to operate more than one enterprise in the townships or do business in the townships if they had other interests outside the townships. Mr. Lucas tentatively suggested that a Directorate of Urban Development could be created to concern itself with the planning of African townships in "White" areas, including shopping facilities. White businesses could possibly operate on an "agency basis" in such townships for transfer to Africans as soon as possible.

In May, the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce called on the Bantu Administration Boards for the East Rand, West Rand, and Pretoria to stop their trading in African townships.[14] In June the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce held its annual congress in Umtata. It called for the abolition of laws which prevented the Blacks' unrestricted participation in the economy, the revision of discriminatory tax laws, and the withdrawal of White trading rights on the outskirts of African townships. A memorandum submitted to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development suggested, *inter alia*, the following changes of policy: Black people should be able to own property, form companies and partnerships for the establishment of bigger businesses, and be able to obtain capital loans from the BIC and other financial institutions "for the purpose of enlarging their present establishments to curb the outflow of black buying power which could provide capital for Homeland development".[15]

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[12] RR. 125/74.

[13] *South African Journal of Economics*, vol. 42(2), June 1974, pp. 177—189.

[14] *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 May.

[15] *African Business*, October 1974.

Motor	*Numbers employed*	*Percentage increase over 1973*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings*	*Percentage increase over 1973*
			R	
White	45 500	2,7	332	11,4
Coloured	10 700	0,9	112	14,3
Asian	3 400	9,7	159	16,1
African	50 900	–1,6	73	15,9
	110 500			

Licensed Accommodation Establishments	*Numbers employed*	*Percentage increase over 1973*	*Average monthly gross cash earnings*	*Percentage increase over 1973*
			R	
White	9 500	2,2	201	4,2
Coloured	6 500	–1,5	70	14,8
Asian	4 900	–2,0	99	12,5
African	33 200	2,8	40	5,3
	54 100			

Here, the cash wages of White and African workers would have been eroded by inflation. However, in many instances Africans, as well as other workers, employed by hotels would also receive payments in kind by way of accommodation, food and clothing.

In August, the Federated Hotel Association circulated the following extract from a directive issued in July by the Secretary for Justice on the question of the use of hotels by foreign Blacks:

> "1. Non-Whites who temporarily visit the Republic (either as tourists, delegates to conferences, sportsmen, etc.) are, as you know, at present admitted to liquor licensed premises for Whites in terms of administrative arrangements. These measures give rise to certain problems in practice and the procedure hereinafter set forth shall apply in future.
>
> 2. No provision of, or condition imposed under the authority of, the Liquor Act, 1928, which differentially affects any Bantu, Asian or Coloured person shall apply to any person who is an alien as defined in the Aliens Act, 1937, and—
>
> (i) who is in possession of a temporary permit issued to him in terms of section 5(1) of the said Act to enter the Republic and to sojourn temporarily therein; or
>
> (ii) to whom permission has been granted under section 7 of the said Act to enter the Republic without any permit.
>
> 3. The foregoing briefly means that a non-White person who temporarily visits the Republic and complies with either one or the other of the abovementioned requirements, can make use of facilities at all hotels for Whites, just as Whites may do. As far as the provisions of the Liquor Act are concerned, the same applies in the case of liquor licensed clubs and restaurants and all other premises in respect of which on-consumption licences are held. In the case of premises which are affected by Proclamation R228 dated 5 October 1973, permits in terms of Group Areas legislation must, however, be obtained before non-Whites are admitted to the premises, etc."[16]

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[16] *Sunday Express*, 11 August.

The whole question of the use of facilities at "White" hotels by local as well as foreign Blacks was raised by the introduction of a Liquor Amendment Bill in Parliament. The Minister of Justice later referred the whole matter to a Parliamentary Select Committee.[17] Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, KwaZulu's Chief Executive Officer, called on the Prime Minister to abolish all apartheid measures in hotels.[18]

EMPLOYMENT IN THE SERVICE OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

Central Government

In a Statistical News Release dated 21 October, the Department of Statistics gave employment figures for the Central Government together with *estimates* of earnings relating to the first quarter of 1974. The data included particulars of employees *seconded* to homeland authorities but not for those on the payroll of such authorities as these were given separately. The average per capita monthly earnings, together with percentage increases over 1973 have been calculated by the writer:

	Numbers employed	*Percentage increase*	*Estimated average monthly salaries and wages* R	*Percentage increase*
White . . .	102 943	0,1	376	11,9
Coloured . .	38 730	10,4	192	17,8
Asian	8 429	0,5	286	23,3
African . . .	106 262	–3,9	67	13,6
	256 364			

The wages of all sections kept pace with or exceeded the rise in the cost of living. While Black wages rose at a faster rate than White, the wage gap expressed in monetary terms between White and Asian workers narrowed but it widened between White and Coloured/African average earnings.

A general adjustment of salaries in the Public Service was made from 1 July 1974. This adjustment consolidated the 15 percent White and 17½ percent Black pensionable allowances made from 1 April 1973.[1] The State did not reveal full details of wage increases but "guesstimates" were that they ranged from about 40 percent in some of the lower echelons to about 15 percent in other categories.[2] It was later reported that the new scales for unskilled workers in State employ ranged from a minimum of R55 to a maximum of R82,50 a month in major urban areas, and from R27 to R51,50 a month in smaller country towns.[3]

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[17] *Star*, 16 August; S.A.I.R.R. Submission, RR. 129/74.

[18] *Sunday Times*, 22 September.

[1] Hansard 2 cols. 90—5, 16 August.

[2] *Financial Mail*, 2 August.

[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 October.

The Minister of Police said that the strength of the S.A. Police Force at the end of 1973 was [4]:

	White	*Coloured*	*Asian*	*African*
Officers	2 106	11	3	23
Warrant Officers	1 986	8	3	21
Senior Sergeants	—	22	16	104
Sergeants	4 890	260	174	2 132
Constables	7 214	1 116	549	11 098
Others	2 226	15	8	306
	18 422	1 432	753	13 684

This shows a decline in White strength between 1972/73 of 421, while Coloured strength increased by 57, Asian by 25, and African by 380. The Minister said later that between 1 April 1973 and 31 March 1974, 1 275 White, 56 Coloured, 29 Indian and 260 African members of the force had resigned.[5]

The new salary scales for policemen which came into effect on 1 July 1974 were [6]:

Constable:	White with Std. 8 and 9	R1 680 rising to R4 380
	with Std. 10	R2 100 rising to R4 380
	Coloured and Indian	R1 170 rising to R2 700
	African	R 780 rising to R2 100
Sergeant	White	R2 700 rising to R5 340
	Coloured and Indian	R1 860 rising to R3 300
	African	R1 350 rising to R2 850
Senior Sergeant:	Coloured and Indian	R2 460 rising to R3 900
	African	R1 860 rising to R3 150
Warrant Officer:	White	R3 300 rising to R5 820
	Coloured and Indian	R2 580 rising to R4 380
	African	R1 980 rising to R3 600
Lieutenant:	White	R4 380 rising to R6 060
	Coloured and Indian	R3 450 rising to R4 740
	African	R2 700 rising to R3 900
Captain:	White	R5 340 rising to R6 660
	Coloured and Indian	R4 380 rising to R5 340
	African	R3 600 rising to R4 380
Major:	White	R6 300 rising to R7 380
Lieut.-Colonel:	White	R7 740 rising to R9 540
Colonel:	White	R9 900 rising to R11 700
Assist. Commissioner:	White	R12 600 (fixed)
Deputy Commissioner:	White	R14 400 (fixed)
Chief Dep. Commissioner	White	R15 600 (fixed)
Commissioner:	White	R16 800 (fixed)

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[4] Hansard 2 cols. 99—100, 16 August.
[5] Senate Hansard 5 col. 1774, 24 September
[6] Hansard 1 cols. 15—18, 9 August.

In addition all ranks receive an annual privation allowance which amounts to R360 for Whites, R200 for Coloured and Indian members, and R132 for Africans. Further, White ranks lower than captain receive an annual service allowance which varies from R60 to R420 a year, while Blacks in all ranks receive a uniform allowance of R66 a year and Black detectives get a special allowance of R36.

The new salary scales occasioned open expressions of discontent among policemen and there were even threats of mass resignations. The Minister of Police said that he could not claim that the police were well paid because "we can never pay them enough. But I do say that they are reasonably well paid and, with their allowances and benefits. I personally think they are better off, scale for scale, than any other branch of the civil service." [7]

Black policemen as well as White are being deployed in the war on the northern borders. Of these forces, the Deputy Commissioner (Executive) of the S.A.P., General P. G. Venter, said: "When we are fighting terrorists on the border, our interests are so close that mixing doesn't seem strange to us . . . These Black guys are as tough and dedicated as their White counterparts. They hate terrorism just as much as we do." [8] African homeland leaders visited the training base near Groblersdal in June and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu commented *inter alia* [9]: "The training of Blacks in the handling of firearms should be accompanied by equal evaluation of their lives with the lives of their White colleagues. A life lost, whether it be Black or White, is equally a life lost. For this reason Black and White policemen need to be given equal pay for equal hazards and equal work."

In August the Minister of Police announced bonuses for policemen volunteering for border duty in Rhodesia for six or twelve months' continuous service. In addition to their normal salaries White policemen would qualify for a R5 per day camp allowance if married or R4 if single plus a Rhodesian service allowance of R2,50 a day. Black policemen would qualify for a camp allowance of R2,80 per day and a service allowance of R2 per day.[10]

Twenty-seven police stations in the Transkei, nine in KwaZulu, four in the Ciskei, four in Lebowa, four in BophuthaTswana and two in Gazankulu were being administered by Africans in mid-1974. In addition, 43 in other areas of the Republic were being so administered. Coloured personnel had charge of seven and Indians of one police station.[11]

In the homelands, 62 Africans were being employed in courts as prosecutors and 28 as magistrates. Prosecutors' salary scales

[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 July.
[8] *Sunday Times*, 14 April; *Bantu*, August 1974.
[9] *Ibid.*, 16 June
[10] *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 August.
[11] Hansard 2 col. 100, 16 August.

ranged from R1 170 to R3 450 per annum, magistrates' from R3 450 to R4 560, and senior magistrates' from R4 740 to R5 820. Twelve practical courses for African prosecutors were being run and 204 law students were enrolled at various Black universities and the University of S.A. Two Indians were being trained as prosecutors in Durban and Pinetown.[12]

The Minister of Prisons said that there were 460 White, two Coloured, and one African commissioned officers in the prisons service.[13]

The Defence Force has established a Special Service Battalion for Indians to serve as a naval unit on the lines of that created for Coloured people in 1972.[14] A new South African Guard Unit consisting of African troops is to be trained and armed.[15] The Minister of Defence revealed that there were 682 vacancies for commissioned officers and 2 952 for non-commissioned officers and other ranks in the services of the Permanent Force. However, 325 Candidate Officers were being trained thus reducing effective vacancies to 357, while 2 789 civilians were being employed in a temporary capacity thus reducing the effective vacancies in the other ranks to 163.[16] Pay in the Citizen Force and Commandos was raised to the same levels as the Permanent Force in September.[17]

The Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs said that, apart from posts in education, there were 90 authorised posts for Whites (filled by 81 people) and 18 for Coloured people (all filled) on the establishment of the Department of Coloured Relations. In South West Africa the authorised establishment was 60 posts for Whites (filled by 47 people), 72 posts for Coloured people (filled by 63 people), and 57 posts for Rehoboth personnel (filled by 14 Rehoboth, 37 Nama and one Coloured person). In the Administration of Coloured Affairs there were no authorised posts for Whites and 3 939 for Coloured people. Of these posts 507 were filled by Whites (presumably on a temporary basis) and 2 893 by Coloured people.[18]

In the Department of Indian Affairs there were 767 posts, apart from those for teachers, on the establishment, Fifty-two positions were vacant and 150 Whites and 565 Indians were employed in the other posts.[19]

There were 3 182 authorised posts on the establishment of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, of which, 2 373 were filled by Whites and 809 by Africans.[20]

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[12] Hansard 5 cols. 333—335, 6 September.

[13] Hansard 2 col. 99, 16 August.

[14] *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 May; *Star*, 4 September.

[15] *Sunday Express*, 16 June.

[16] Hansard 5 cols. 344—6, 6 September.

[17] *Sunday Times*, 22 September.

[18] Hansard 5 cols. 301—2, 5 September.

[19] Hansard 3 col. 150, 20 August.

[20] Hansard 3 cols. 170—1, 23 August.

Homeland Authorities

A Department of Statistics News Release dated 21 October gave details of the number of Africans on the payrolls of the various homeland governments, together with *estimates* of their earnings relating to the first quarter of 1974. From these it would appear that 110 586 African workers were being employed by all these authorities, an increase of 29 039 or nearly 36 percent on the previous year. The estimated average per capita monthly earnings were R68, an increase of nearly R7 or 11,5 percent on the previous year. The Transkei was the largest employer with 29 735 workers earning an average wage of R69 per month, followed by KwaZulu with 26 953 workers earning an average of R66 per month,[21] Lebowa with 18 948 workers earning an average of R64 per month, BophuthaTswana with 12 880 earning R69, the Ciskei with 8 685 earning R78 a month, Venda with 6 811 earning R45 a month, Gazankulu with 5 830 earning R84, and Basotho Qwa-Qwa with 744 earning an average wage of R137 per month.

On the question of Africanisation of the establishment of the homeland authorities, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that while the number of posts in homeland administrations had increased by 73 percent between 1968 and 1973, the positions occupied by Whites had declined as a proportion from 14,5 percent to 9,9 percent.[22]

Provincial Administrations

The Statistical News Release dated 21 October gave employment figures for the Provincial Administrations together with *estimates* of earnings relating to the first quarter of 1974. The average per capita monthly earnings, together with percentage increases on 1973 figures, have been calculated by the writer from the total figures given:

	Numbers employed	*Percentage increase*	*Average monthly salaries and wages* R	*Percentage increase*
White . .	103 813	3,3	370	15,6
Coloured .	16 843	6,5	90	20,0
Asian . .	2 649	10,2	140	14,8
African . .	82 798	1,5	59	28,3
	206 103			

Here, while African and Coloured wages rose at a faster rate than White wages, the wage gap between average White/Black earnings, expressed in monetary terms, widened.

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[21] KwaZulu's were preliminary figures.
[22] Hansard I col. 323, 8 August.

Local Authorities

The Statistical News Release mentioned earlier in this section also gave employment figures and earnings based on a sample survey for Local Authorities (municipalities, etc.). These figures include the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-urban Areas, the Natal Local Health Commission, the Bantu Resettlement Board and the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards. They exclude Divisional Councils in the Cape Province. The data relate to the first quarter of 1974. The average per capita monthly earnings, together with percentage increases on 1973 figures, have been calculated by the writer from the total figures given:

	Numbers Employed	*Percentage*[23] *increase*	*Average monthly salaries and wages* R	*Percentage increase*
White . .	51 800	3,6	390	17,8
Coloured .	18 800	−1,6	127	18,7
Asian . .	4 300	10,3	106	20,5
African . .	128 400	6,7	64	18,5
	203 300[23]			

While all Black wages increased at a faster rate than White wages, the wage gap between average White/Black earnings expressed in monetary terms widened.

Durban City Council raised its Black wage bill by R1 800 000 a year from March, an increase of 10 percent in the wage bill.[24] The Johannesburg Municipal Coloured Employees' Union warned the City Council that if equal pay for equal work for its members was not introduced by 1 July it would declare a dispute and apply to the Minister of Labour for a Conciliation Board to resolve the issue.[25] The Council announced a wage increase costing R8 500 000 in June with White workers getting increases of between 10 and 13 percent and Black workers getting between 18 and 20 percent. The Coloured Employees' Union rejected the new wage agreement.[26]

In May there were reports of wide-spread dissatisfaction in connection with wage increases among Pretoria City Council's 400 artisans.[27] In June the City Council granted a wage increase costing R3 141 785 to its 4 500 White personnel, and R1 300 000 to its 7 091 African employees.[28] In August, the Sandton Town Council decided to raise its minimum wage for African employees to R95,33 a month, which meant an increase of R4,50 a week for the lowest category of worker.[29] The Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board decided to raise the wages of about 800 African employees by 22,8 percent from 1 October, to establish a pension scheme and to put these workers on a monthly-paid basis.[30]

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[23] What appears to be a striking increase in African employment is probably attributable to the inclusion of all the employees of the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards.

[24] *Star*, 19 February.

[25] *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 March and 3 May.

[26] *Ibid.*, 15 June.

[27] *Star*, 6 May.

[28] *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 June.

The Kempton Park Municipality agreed to raise African wages by 12 percent from the end of August.[31] The East London City Council decided to raise the wages of its 1 700 Black workers by R4 per week bringing the minimum wage for the lowest category of worker to R16 a week.[32]

EMPLOYMENT IN THE RAILWAYS, HARBOURS AND AIRWAYS ADMINISTRATION

The Minister of Transport said that at the end of 1973 average White wages of employees of the S.A. Railways and Harbours Administration were R383 per month, those of Coloured people R93 per month, those of Indians R81 per month, and those of Africans R69 per month.[1] This meant that there had been an improvement of 19,7 percent in White, 29,2 percent in Coloured, 47,3 percent in Indian, and 27,8 percent in African earnings since the end of 1972. It is clear that the wages of all workers increased at a much faster rate than the rise in the official consumer price index for the period. On the other hand, the wage gap between Black-White earnings expressed in monetary terms widened over this period.

There were reports of serious grievances in connection with wages among White railway workers in the first half of the year.[2] There was also a work stoppage of Black workers at the railways' foundry in Pietermaritzburg.[3] In June the S.A.R. & H. announced a R111 million pay increase to its 230 000 workers, White and Black, from 1 July.[4]

In August the Minister of Transport gave the following breakdown of the wage structure of the S.A.R. & H.[5]:

Monthly wage	*White*	*Percentage*	*Coloured*	*Percentage*	*Indian*	*Percentage*	*African*	*Percentage*
R50 or less	—	0,0	2	less than 0,1	—	0,0	3 750	3,3
R51—R100	17	less than 0,1	13 462	76,1	721	49,8	100 591	89,0
R101—R200	15 640	14,1	4 124	23,3	726	50,2	8 635	7,6
R201—R300	41 261	37,2	89	0,5	—	0,0	86	0,1
R301—R500	40 696	36,7	7	less than 0,1	—	0,0	—	0,0
R501 or more	13 287	12,0	—	0,0	—	0,0	—	0,0
	110 901	100,0	17 684	100,0	1 447	100,0	113 062	100,0

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[29] *Ibid.*, 28 August.
[30] *Ibid.*, 6 August.
[31] *Star*, 28 August.
[32] *Weekend Post*, 28 August.
[1] Hansard 1 col. 33, 8 February.
[2] *Star*, 4 January; *Vaderland*, 1 February; *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 February; *Star*, 11 June.
[3] *Sunday Tribune*, 3 March.
[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 June.
[5] Hansard 4 cols. 225—6, 27 August.

It is quite clear if these figures are compared with those given by the Minister last year [6] that a significant wage movement occurred on the railways in little more than a year. Firstly, White employment declined by 1 621 or 1,4 percent, while Coloured employment increased by 1 988 or 12,7 percent, Indian employment by 223 or 18,2 percent, and African employment by 13 670 or 13,8 percent.

In the case of African employees, whereas nearly 38 percent had been in the very low income bracket of less than R50 per month in 1973, by the second half of 1974 just over 3 percent were in this low-wage bracket. The vast majority had moved into the R51—R100 bracket and although monthly wages of this order leave much to be desired, particularly if inflation continues at its present rate, it remains true that an improvement in the wages of a numerically significant number of workers was effected. The number of workers in the more respectable R101—R200 bracket tripled from 2 685 to 8 635. In the case of Indian employees there was also a significant movement from the low-wage bracket of R51—R100 into the R101—R200 bracket and this was mirrored to a lesser extent in the wage movement of the Coloured labour force. Of course, these adjustments had a very beneficial effect on White wages. Whereas over 33 percent of the Whites had been earning R200 or less per month in 1973, by 1974 only a little over 14 percent were left in this bracket. At the upper end nearly 49 percent had moved into the bracket of more than R300 per month compared with only 24,5 percent a year earlier, and a significant number, 13 287 or 12 percent, were earning more than R500 a month.

The Government introduced a Railways and Harbours Pensions for Non-Whites Bill to create a contributory Pension Fund for all its Black workers, excepting foreign Africans and intermittent casual and togt labourers. The creation of this fund made the Compulsory Savings Fund established for Coloured workers in 1965 and for Africans and Indians in 1969 redundant and it would be phased out. The new Pension Fund established a qualifying period of five years' service, with a contribution of 4½ percent of basic remuneration, to be matched on a rand for rand basis by the Administration.[7] There was a consequential amendment of the Railways and Harbours Pensions Act of 1941.[8]

The Report of the Railways and Harbours Board for the year ended 31 December 1973 [9] showed that there had been 21 937 staff losses against 21 981 new appointments in that year. In the 31 835 "bread and butter" grades there were 6 305 vacancies (19,8 percent) while there were 2 138 vacancies (49,1 percent) in the 4 355 training and entry grades. During holidays when the Depart-

[6] These were recorded on page 257 of last year's *Survey*.
[7] Assembly Bill 39/74; W.P. 4/74; Senate Hansard 5 cols. 1968—70, 26 September.
[8] Senate Hansard 5 cols. 2002—6, 26 September.
[9] R.P. 69/74.

ment had to cope with increased traffic, (White) university students were engaged in a casual capacity. Women had been employed in the categories of driver (departmental), baggage handler, cargo handler, checker, constable, crane driver and ticket examiner.

The Board also reported that because of the shortage of artisans in certain trades, Whites, or Blacks if no Whites were available, were being employed to undertake skilled work under the direct supervision of artisans. The employment of Black train marshallers (shunters) instituted in 1972 continued with the scheme being introduced at several shunting yards in the O.F.S., Natal, and the Western and Eastern Transvaal. Since 1972, 203 Black trackmen trained to undertake independent platelayer work had been appointed on a permanent basis on seven different railway systems. Blacks have also been trained as carriage and wagon assistants.

The S.A.R. & H. is also training Black workers at training centres in Germiston and Braamfontein and through the Railway College at Esselen Park for a wide variety of Jobs.[10] The Deputy Minister of Transport told Parliament that 289 Coloured people, 132 Indians and 5 709 Africans were being employed in positions formerly filled by Whites.[11]

In September the deputy general manager of the S.A.R. announced that there had been a change from White to Black labour in 46 shunting yards. The S.A.R. had also appointed 25 Black medical practitioners. Nine regional committees with about 1 000 representatives of the Black work force had been established. These committees had access to top management.[12] The Administration had also approached the (White) Running and Operating Staff Union to allow the employment of African ticket examiners on African suburban trains and to permit the introduction of Black shunters at a further 16 shunting yards.[13]

There were press reports of severe congestion at all South African harbours, but more particularly at Port Elizabeth and Durban, and the position was exacerbated by the closure of Lourenço Marques in Mozambique at mid-year. The Minister of Transport gave the following information on employment at each harbour in S.A. and S.W.A. in 1972 and 1973.[14]

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[10] *Bantu*, April 1974.
[11] Hansard 1 col. 16, 8 February.
[12] *Star*, 5 September.
[13] *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 September.
[14] Senate Hansard 2 cols. 407—410, 20 August.

	White		*Coloured*		*Asian*		*African*	
	1972	*1973*	*1972*	*1973*	*1972*	*1973*	*1972*	*1973*
Durban	3 111	3 067	3	2	342	407	5 032	5 549
Cape Town	2 577	2 627	724	761	—	—	1 652	2 126
Port Elizabeth	1 151	1 147	149	171	—	—	1 127	1 024
East London	749	765	7	7	—	—	895	853
Mossel Bay	27	27	26	28	—	—	—	—
Walvis Bay	169	223	37	37	—	—	225	341
Luderitz	40	38	124	120	—	—	16	16
	7 824	7 894	1 070	1 126	342	407	8 947	9 909

In Cape Town 75 Coloured people were taken on to be trained as drivers and forklift drivers to fill formerly all-White jobs in an effort to ease congestion in the port.[15]

While (White) "deck hands" on tugs and dredgers are paid on a salary scale of R180 rising to R230 per month, the salary scale for Coloured/Indian "tug attendants" who do the same work is R84 rising to R112 per month, and that of Africans is R64 rising to R80 per month. Similarly White "stokers" are on a scale of R190 rising to R240 per month, while Blacks who do the same work are on the "tug attendants" scale.[16] While a White constable in the S.A. Railways and Harbours Police is on a salary scale of R180 rising to R290 per month, a Coloured/Indian policemen is on a scale of R112 rising to R133 per month, and the African scale is R91 rising to R112.[17]

EMPLOYMENT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS

In August the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications gave the following employment and earnings figures in his Department as at 31 July 1974 (percentages calculated by the writer)[1]:

Annual Salary	*White*	*Percentage*	*Coloured*	*Percentage*	*Asian*	*Percentage*	*African*	*Percentage*
R600 or less	—	0,0	372	7,0	3	0,4	3 359	19,8
R601—R1 200	119	0,3	2 614	49,0	74	10,2	11 684	69,0
R1 201—R2 400	12 724	31,8	1 941	36,4	573	78,7	1 834	10,8
R2 400 plus	27 132	67,9	408	7,6	78	10,7	66	0,4
	39 975	100,0	5 335	100,0	728	100,0	16 943	100,0

These data show a decline since March 1973[2] of 873 Whites with an increase of 676 Coloured people, 113 Asians and 1 840 Africans. There had also been a significant movement of Black workers out of the very low income bracket of less than R600 per annum into the more satisfactory bracket of R601—R1 200 per annum. For instance, whereas more than half the African workers had been in the lower bracket in 1973, less than twenty percent remained in that bracket in July 1974. The numbers of Black workers in a higher income bracket of R1 201—R2 400 also increased by a notable number: in the case of Coloured people from 704 to 1 941, in the case of Asians from 293 to 573, and in the case of Africans from 200 to 1 834.

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[15] *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 June.

[16] Hansard 7 cols. 529—30, 20 September.

[17] Hansard 1 cols. 17—20, 9 August.

[1] Hansard 2 cols. 68—9, 13 August.

[2] See page 259 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey*.

The question of staff shortages has become a matter of crucial importance in recent years. The Minister of Posts and Telecommunications said that in the 1973/74 financial year 142 trained technicians and 425 telephone electricians and mechanics resigned, compared with 127 and 380, respectively, in 1972/73, and 93 and 262, respectively, in 1971/72.[3] The shortage of technicians in his Department was estimated at 1 500.[4] A campaign to recruit qualified people in foreign countries during the years 1969—1972 had cost R84 900 and 600 immigrant workers had been recruited.[5] However, 235 of these immigrant workers had subsequently left the service of the Post Office.[6] The Minister appealed most earnestly to commerce and industry to stop drawing qualified people away from positions in which they were performing essential public services.[7] He said that a further recruiting campaign in foreign countries had been launched in 1974, at a cost of R20 900, during which contracts with 263 persons had been concluded by 31 August 1974.[8]

In mid-1974 there were also 277 vacancies for postmen and 758 for telephonists on the establishment of the Post Office.[9]

Wage improvements additional to those granted in 1973 were made in 1974: unskilled workers were granted a better wage structure with the vacation savings bonus also being extended to them; and other employees received *at least* a 10 percent increase from 1 July 1974. These increases were expected to cost the Post Office R28 200 000 a year.[10]

The Minister reported further advances in the utilisation of Black workers in the upper echelons to Parliament.[11] Black clerks are being given on-the-job training at offices where they are being taken into service; they are also being formally trained at established training schools in Umtata and Johannesburg; further opportunities for Black postmasters were created when 21 Black chargeship posts were created; 56 Black posts had been created in the Administrative Division and 140 in the General A Division. As examples of the opportunities created, the Minister pointed out that four of the Black posts had a maximum salary notch of R6 000 per annum, ten had a maximum of R5 000, and 347 had a maximum above R4 000.

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[3] Hansard 5 col. 2029, 3 September.
[4] Hansard 5 cols. 286—7, 3 September.
[5] Hansard 7 cols. 484—5, 17 September.
[6] Hansard 8 col. 589, 27 September.
[7] Hansard 5 cols. 2029—2030, 3 September.
[8] Hansard 7 cols. 484—5, 17 September.
[9] Hansard 4 cols. 246—249, 30 August.
[10] Hansard 5 col. 2032, 3 September.
[11] Hansard 5 cols. 2032—4, 3 September.

Seventy Indians were being trained as telephone electricians for employment in "White areas" in Natal, with the agreement of the (White) S.A. Telecommunications Association. A training centre for African telephone electricians had been established at Umtata and similar facilities were being provided at Milner Park, Johannesburg. Training facilities for pupil technicians had been provided for Africans at Mmadikoti near Pietersburg, for Coloured people at Bellville, and for Indians in Durban. Eighty-seven Blacks had already qualified as fully-fledged electricians, while 188 pupil electricians and 45 pupil technicans were in training.

Arrangements were proceeding to facilitate the transfer of posts and telecommunications services to the homeland governments in due course. In the Transkei, a sub-regional office had been established at Umtata to serve as the nucleus of the future Transkeian Department of Posts and Telegraphs. Progress had been made with staffing homeland post offices with their citizens and in proclaimed homelands there were 109 post offices staffed by 666 Africans and 165 Whites.

In May about 700 African and Coloured workers struck in connection with wage demands in Durban.[12] The Postmaster-General flew to Durban to settle the dispute. Most of the strikers returned to work on 7 May after press reports of police intervention, but about 70 staged a protest march. On his return to Pretoria the Postmaster-General said that "agitators" had been responsible for the strike. He went on to say: "During the discussion it became quite clear that the strike leaders had been primed and instructed to ask certain questions. There was a fixed pattern in their approach, and no matter how carefully the situation was explained to them they just would not see reason." [13] Six workers who did not return to work after a Post Office ultimatum were dismissed.[14]

DOMESTIC WORKERS

The most recent figures available to the writer on the remuneration of domestic workers in private employment were contained in Report 11-03-08 issued by the Department of Statistics and covering the month of October 1972. This report indicated that, at that time, only one (White) household in three in the main urban areas did *not* employ either a full-time or part-time domestic worker. Approximately half the households were employing full-time domestic workers and about 20 percent were employing more than one worker. While it was not possible for the Department of Statistics to determine the total cash wages of part-time workers, many of whom were employed by more than one

[12] *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 May; *Star*, 6 May.
[13] *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 May.
[14] *Ibid.*, 9 May.

household, it did provide data on the *average* wages being paid to full-time domestic workers in the main urban areas. Examples of the *average* monthly wages being paid to *general* domestic workers in October 1972, where payments in kind represent *employers' estimates*, were:

	Cash R	*Kind* R	*Total* R	*Percentage* [1] *increase 1971/72*
Cape Town:				
African woman	28,93	26,63	55,56	5,4
Coloured woman ...	26,80	31,41	58,21	11,4
Port Elizabeth:				
African woman	21,14	24,38	45,52	7,4
Coloured woman ...	18,98	27,04	46,02	9,4
East London:				
African woman	16,03	22,02	38,05	9,2
Kimberley:				
African woman	16,41	20,91	37,32	11,8
Pietermaritzburg:				
African man	19,81	21,95	41,76	12,4
African woman	18,36	22,10	40,46	10,5
Durban:				
African man	16,22	22,19	38,41	8,0
African woman	19,29	23,26	42,55	10,6
Pretoria:				
African man	22,50	26,66	49,16	11,8
African woman	20,52	26,27	46,79	10,6
Witwatersrand:				
African man	29,86	27,92	57,78	11,4
African woman	23,60	24,44	48,04	8,2
Bloemfontein:				
African woman	14,78	23,91	38,69	10,2
Vaal Triangle:				
African woman	18,11	21,81	39,92	7,8
O.F.S. Goldfields:				
African woman	17,95	19,21	37,16	1,8

In Johannesburg, Mrs. Sue Gordon who is associated with the S.A. Institute of Race Relations has continued to run and expand the Domestic Workers' and Employers' Project (DWEP). Seventeen "centres of concern" have been established in the Witwatersrand area. These centres are being run by groups of local housewives with the aim that domestic workers themselves should gradually take over the running of the centres and much of the teaching. Domestic workers' committees have been established at some of the centres. Among the skills being taught are literacy, dressmaking, cookery, typing, first-aid and home-nursing and driving, etc. The centres also serve as places of recreation for workers.[2]

One centre of concern has been established in Port Elizabeth, another in Pietermaritzburg, three in East London, fifteen in

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[1] Calculated by the writer.
[2] S.A.I.R.R. RR. 165/74.

Durban, and three in Pretoria, the latter being run by Mr. S. Motebe. Dwep issued the third revised edition of a booklet entitled *Domestic Workers: a handbook for housewives*, and in May brought together groups and organisations involved in literacy training for an evaluative seminar. A booklet entitled the *Dialogue Method* resulted from this.

Miss Maphiri Masekela and Miss Pusetso Letlabika are running a domestic workers project for the S.A. Council of Churches.

In Cape Town, Miss Maggie Oewies, herself a domestic worker for many years, is working on a project with the Young Christian Workers and organising activities for domestic workers.

OTHER AREAS OF EMPLOYMENT

Universities

A Department of Statistics News Release dated 17 September gave employment figures and total earnings, based on a complete quarterly survey, in Universities during the second quarter of 1974. These figures covered full-time as well as part-time staff and this could well distort overall average earnings. Monthly average earnings and percentage increases over 1973 have been calculated by the writer.

	Numbers employed	*Percentage increase*	*Average monthly salaries and wages* R	*Percentage increase*
White	14 681 [1]	11,7	452 [1]	−0,9
Coloured	1 852	3,6	123	−0,8
Asian	529	13,0	196	24,8
African	6 112	11,7	84	15,1
	23 174			

The University of South Africa in Pretoria opened a "VIP Black restaurant" to be used primarily by Black academic staff and students.[2] A move to include all races in UNISA's (White) Staff Association, although supported by a majority of votes cast, failed to secure the necessary two-thirds majority.[3]

Churches

Brief information on wage movements in the Churches was given on page 182 of the 1971 issue, page 330 of the 1972 issue, and pages 263—4 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey*. In June the Johannesburg diocese of the Anglican Church announced that equal stipends for Black and White clergy would be achieved in

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[1] There was an error in the News Release quoted on page 262 of last year's *Survey*, subsequently corrected. The employment figure should have read 13 092 and the earnings R456.

[2] *Star*, 2 July.

[3] *Ibid.*, 18 September.

1975 after a "phasing in" period of three years.[4] In October, the Methodist Church conference resolved to equalise the salaries of Black and White ministers.[5]

Attorneys

The Association of Law Societies of South Africa appointed a special *ad hoc* committee to investigate the problems arising from training Black articled clerks.[6] In October, the Durban Legal Association unanimously accepted applications for membership from four Black attorneys.[7]

The Press

The *Natal Mercury* announced wage increases which would bring its minimum wage for African workers to R100 per month.[8]

Taxi Drivers

About 30 Black taxi drivers were hired because of White shortages by a company in Pretoria and were earning between R80 and R100 a week. There has apparently been little objection from Pretoria's White citizens.[9]

Dockworkers

Some 2 000 Black stevedores refused for three weeks in October to work overtime until pay demands were met. This caused congestion at Cape Town harbour.[10]

TRADE UNIONS

General

The Minister of Labour said that the number of registered (i.e. White, Coloured and Asian) trade unions at the end of August 1974, and their membership figures at the end of 1973 (with the exception of a few cases where unions had not yet submitted returns for 1973) were [1]:

Types of Union	*No. of unions*	*Membership* *White*	*Coloured and Asian*	*Total*
All-White	85	366 764	—	366 764
All-Coloured/Asian	48	—	76 387	76 387
Mixed membership	41	45 188	130 355	175 543
	174	411 952	206 742	618 694

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[4] *Star*, 10 June.
[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 October.
[6] *Star*, 19 June.
[7] *Sunday Times*, 20 October.
[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 August.
[9] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 September.
[10] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 and 28 October.
[1] Assembly Hansard 5 cols. 359—368, 6 September.

However, three of the registered all-White unions were either defunct, under liquidation, or in the process of being wound up, reducing the actual number of these unions to eighty-two. In the case of all-Coloured/Asian unions, two were in the process of being wound up, reducing the actual number of these unions to forty-six.

The *South African Confederation of Labour* consists of some twenty-five affiliated all-White unions, with a membership of about 192 705. (The Suidwes Administrasiewerkersvereniging with some 866 White members is also affiliated to the Confederation.)

The *Trade Union Council of South Africa* consists of some 63 unions with a total membership of 233 555, of whom 65 561 or 28 percent are White and 167 994 or 72 percent are Coloured or Asian. Nine of the Tucsa unions with a membership of 30 469 are all-White unions, twenty-six with a membership of 48 417 have only Coloured or Asian members, and a further twenty-eight are "mixed" with a membership of 35 092 Whites and 119 577 Coloured or Asian workers.

Eighty-one unions with a membership of 192 434, of whom 153 686 or 80 percent are White and 38 748 or 20 percent are Coloured or Asian, were *not affiliated* to either of the major labour federations in mid-1974. Forty-eight of the unaffiliated unions representing 143 590 workers confined their membership to Whites, twenty with 27 970 members were for Coloured or Asian workers, and a further thirteen with 10 096 White members and 10 778 Coloured/Asian members were "mixed".[2]

One third of the registered unions (56 of the 169) contained no fewer than 92 percent of the unionized labour force. In the case of Whites this percentage rose to ninety-five percent while in the case of Coloured and Asian workers these unions accounted for 87 percent of union members. Twenty-two of these unions were Tucsa affiliates with a combined membership of 209 801, 15 were Confederation affiliates with a White membership of 187 621, and 19 were unaffiliated unions with a combined membership of 172 447.[3]

The Minister also said [4] of the racially mixed unions that the following exemptions had been granted in terms of section 8(3) (b) of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956: five unions, namely, the Garment Workers Union of S.A. (East London and Port Elizabeth branches); the Association of Cinematograph Projectionists, R.S.A.; the South African Theatre and Cinema Employees' Union (Johannesburg branch); the National Certificated Fishing Officers Association; and the National Union of Operative Biscuit Makers and Packers (Cape Town branch) had been exempted indefinitely from the provision requiring the establishment of different branches of a union for members of different racial groups. In the case of the Garment Workers' Union this was done on condition that separate seating accommodation be provided for the two races at meetings.

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[2] Dudley Horner. *Registered Trade Unions in South Africa, 1974.* S.A.I.R.R. RR. No. 145/74.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[4] Hansard 8 cols. 556—560, 24 September.

Seven unions were exempted indefinitely from the requirement that separate meetings be held for White and Coloured members: namely, the Garment Workers' Union of South Africa (East London and Port Elizabeth branches); the Natal Liquor and Catering Trades Employees' Union; The Association of Cinematograph Projectionists, R.S.A.; the Furniture Workers Industrial Union (Natal); the South African Theatre and Cinema Employees' Union; the National Certificated Fishing Officers Association; and the National Union of Operative Biscuit Makers and Packers (Cape Town branch). Two exemptions were granted on condition that a proportion of executive committee members should be White.

Five unions were granted indefinite exemption from having all-White executive committees, namely: the Natal Liquor and Catering Trades Employees' Union; the Furniture Workers' Industrial Union (Natal); the Brewery Employees' Union (Cape); the Glass Workers' Union; and the Bakery Employees' Industrial Union. Four unions were granted exemption from the above-mentioned requirement for stated periods of time, namely: the National Union of Leather Workers, the Garment Workers' Union of the Western Province, the National Union of Operative Biscuit Makers and Packers and the Tramway and Omnibus Workers Union (Cape).

Seven unions were granted indefinite exemption from the stipulation that no non-office bearing member would be allowed to attend or take part in any meeting of the union which was not a meeting for the particular race to which he belonged, namely: the Garment Workers' Union of South Africa (East London and Port Elizabeth branches); the Natal Liquor and Catering Trades Employees' Union; the Association of Cinematograph Projectionists, R.S.A.; the Furniture Workers' Industrial Union; the Brewery Employees Union (Cape); the South African Theatre and Cinema Employees' Union; and the National Certificated Fishing Officers Association.[5]

Senator Anna Scheepers (U.P.) stated in the Senate that the Minister's failure to grant exemptions in terms of Section 8(3) (b) of the Industrial Conciliation Act was doubling the expenses of "mixed" trade unions.[6]

In October entry visas were refused to a group of South African trade unionists scheduled to attend the African regional conference of the International Textile, Garment and Leatherworkers Federation in Nigeria.[7]

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[5] Hansard 8 cols. 556—560, 24 September.
[6] Senate Hansard 6 col. 2474, 4 October.
[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 October.

At Evander in March, the Foreign Minister, Dr. Hilgard Muller, said trade unionism was communism's greatest weapon against stability in South Africa.[8]

African Trade Union Rights

The issue of African trade union rights gathered considerable momentum in 1974, with numerous people and organisations making their viewpoints known.

The official Opposition's spokesman on labour, Dr. G. F. Jacobs, said that the United Party would provide for collective bargaining rights for all workers, by changing the definition of "employee" in the Industrial Conciliation Act to include African workers.[1] In the Senate, Dr. Scheepers (U.P.) urged the Government to appoint an enquiry to hear evidence from interested organisations and persons on the desirability of amending the Industrial Conciliation Act to include Africans in the definition of "employee".[2] The Progressive Party also criticised the stand taken by the Minister of Labour on Black trade unions.[3]

Among others who made pleas for the extension of union rights to African workers were: The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Buthelezi;[4] Dr. Alex Boraine, then labour consultant for the Anglo American Corporation;[5] representatives of the Trade Union Council of South Africa. (Tucsa);[6] the Institute for Industrial Education;[7] Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, a Black trade unionist [8], and the President of the South African Electrical Workers Association, Mr. A. Elision.[9]

The results of a survey carried out by *Market Research Africa*, published in the *Sunday Times*, showed that the majority of businessmen in the sample favoured some form of trade union representation for Black workers.[10]

Those who expressed themselves against the idea of unions for Africans were: the director of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of S.A. (SEIFSA), Mr. Errol Drummond, who said, "In this industry there will be *no* —and you can underline *no*—negotiations with African trade unions" [11]; Mr. W. Bornman, general secretary of the S.A. Iron, Steel, and Allied Industries Union who appealed to the Government to get rid of "mixed" trade unions,[12] the S.A. Association of Municipal

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[8] *Ibid.*, 29 March.
[1] Hansard 7 col. 2978, 16 September.
[2] Senate Hansard 6 cols. 2477—8, 4 October.
[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 August.
[4] *Star*, 26 July.
[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 February.
[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 December 1973; *Rand Daily Mail* and *Star*, 16 August.
[7] *South African Labour Bulletin*, April 1974. Vol. 1 No. 1. "*The Case for African Unions.*"
[8] *Sunday Times*, 17 February.
[9] *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 May.
[10] *Sunday Times* (*Business Times*), 12 May.
[11] *Financial Mail*, 21 December 1973.
[12] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 July.

Employees[13] and the vice-president of the Confederation of Labour, Mr. Arthur Nieuwoudt, who asked the Government to block overseas aid to Black trade unions.[14]

There is reportedly some tension amongst right-wing White trade unionists over conflicting attitudes to Black trade unions.[15] Mr. Nieuwoudt publicly repudiated the views of the hon. secretary of the Confederation of Labour, Mr. C. P. Grobler, regarding the need for a commission of enquiry into Black trade unions. These views were expressed when the Chairman of Anglo American, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, made a similar plea which was supported by the President of the Chamber of Mines, Mr. A. W. S. Schumann.[16]

Many organisations have adopted a somewhat ambivalent position on this issue.

One large employer, Smith and Nephew, concluded a formal private wage agreement with an African union, the National Union of Textile Workers, and another was reported to be willing to conclude a similar internal agreement.[17]

The Anglo American Corporation said it was prepared to recognise and negotiate with Black trade unions in all its enterprises[18] but, after a warning against this from the Minister of Labour, stated that it would not act unilaterally if it became apparent that the Government would not sanction such a move or that other sectors of industry were opposed to it. (See also section on mining.)[19]

The British Trades Union Congress mission which visited South Africa in 1973 (see page 271 of the 1973 *Survey*) issued its report in December of that year.[20] The main recommendations contained in the report were:

- The TUC and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions should establish a focal point in South Africa to plan and assist on a massive scale the organisation of African workers into trade unions. In this connection one aim would be to provide enough funds to employ full-time Black organisers in several industrial centres.
- The ICFTU and the TUC should establish a committee in London to mobilise maximum international support for African trade union organisation in South Africa and launch an appeal fund which would be used in S.A. to help solve organisational and educational problems, including assistance to bodies already active and mentioned in the report, and also to provide legal defence in case of police repression, to provide strike pay, and perhaps to give assistance to workers victimised for trade union activity.
- Opposition to British investment in S.A. would be continued unless British firms operating there showed in a practical way that they were encouraging and recognising genuinely independent trade unions for African workers.
- The General Council should declare firmly against the emigration of White workers to S.A. in view of the availability of Black workers for employment and training.

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[13] *Star*, 4 March.
[14] *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 June.
[15] *Star*, 12 September.
[16] *Ibid*, 29 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 July.
[17] *Sunday Times (Business Times)*, 4 August.
[18] *Star*, 13 August.
[19] *Ibid.*, 15 August.
[20] *Star*, 14 and 15 December 1973; *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 December.

The report was strongly attacked by the United Party [21] and the Confederation of Labour,[22] and by overseas groups on the left of the TUC which were opposed to further involvement in South Africa.[23] The Minister of Labour made scathing references to the report in Parliament and its aims were strongly criticised by Mr. J. M. Henning (N.P.) in the labour debate.[24]

The TUC plan was adopted by the ICFTU in June and a special co-ordinating committee was set up.[25] It was reported that the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity was planning to support the TUC's approach to South Africa,[26] which was favourably received at a meeting in Geneva of Commonwealth and African trade union leaders.[27]

In October, Mr. Alan Hargreaves, International Secretary for the TUC, announced that his body was ready to sponsor the training in South Africa of African trade union organisers and African tutors in trade unionism.[28]

In July Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, general secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers, was prevented from speaking at the International Labour Organisation's conference in Geneva through intervention by delegates from Black states.[29]

The Institute of Race Relations in its statement on Labour Policy and Employment Practices stated:

> "Present rights to organise, bargain and strike discriminate markedly between African workers on the one hand, and White, Coloured and Asian workers on the other. Africans are prohibited from being members of registered trade unions, which excludes them from participating as equals in the industrial council system. The existence of two separate and racially discriminatory systems adds significantly to the economic inequalities of South African society. The Institute urges that the definition of 'employee' in the Industrial Conciliation Act be amended to include African workers, with consequential amendments to both that Act and the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act. The Institute considers it regrettable that liaison committees are being regarded by some as the sole means of providing worker representation for Africans." [30]

In November, S.A.'s most powerful African union, the National Union of Clothing Workers, with a membership of about 23 500 African workers, presented an eleven-page memorandum to the Minister of Labour calling upon him to grant it legal recognition.[31]

At the Cape congress of the National Party the Minister of Justice and Police, Mr. J. Kruger, said that the Government was giving serious attention to attempts inspired from abroad to create anarchy and chaos through Black trade unions in South Africa.[32]

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[21] *Sunday Express*, and *Sunday Tribune*, 16 December.
[22] *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 February.
[23] *Star*, 6 July.
[24] Hansard 1 cols. 280—1, 6 February, and Hansard 7 cols. 2982—3, 16 September.
[25] *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 and 6 June.
[26] *Sunday Times*, 9 June.
[27] *Star*, 17 June.
[28] *Ibid.*, 28 October; *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 October.
[29] *Star*, 20 July.
[30] RR. 125/74.
[31] *Star*, 4 November.

The African unions known to be operating at present are: National Union of Clothing Workers (S.A.); National Union of Textile Workers (Natal); Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Natal); Black Allied Workers' Union (Witwatersrand); Engineering and Allied Workers' Union (Witwatersrand); Union of Clothing and Allied Workers (Natal); Textile Workers' Union (Transvaal); Transport and Allied Workers' Union (Witwatersrand); African Chemical Workers' Union (Witwatersrand); Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (Natal); African Transport Workers' Union (Witwatersrand); United Automobile Rubber and Allied Workers Union (Natal, Cape); African Food and Canning Union (Cape); Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union (Witwatersrand); African Tobacco Workers' Union (Witwatersrand); Furniture and Timber Workers' Union (Natal); Laundry and Dry-cleaning Workers' Association (Witwatersrand); National Union of Bank Employees (S.A.); Paper and Allied Workers' Union (Witwatersrand); Tobacco Workers' Union of African Women (Witwatersrand); Transport and General Workers' Union (Natal).

There are also two benefit funds which provide sick fund and unemployment benefits: the General Factory Workers' Benefit Fund (Natal) and the African Leather Workers' Benefit Fund (S.A.).[33]

Trade Union Council of South Africa

A confrontation between Tucsa and a number of Natal unions followed the Government's banning in February of four Natal trade unionists. (See relevant section of this *Survey*.) The Natal unions threatened to leave Tusca following the organisation's refusal to send a representative to a protest meeting in Durban.[1] Mrs. Harriet Bolton, a member of the Tucsa executive and general secretary of the 20 000-strong Garment Workers' Industrial Union (Natal), announced her union's withdrawal from Tucsa in February,[2] but later announced that she accepted reasons given to her by Tucsa for not participating in the Durban protest meeting.[3]

In April Tucsa warned African homeland politicians against becoming involved in labour and industrial relations.[4] In response to a statement by Mr. Barney Dladla, then KwaZulu's Minister of Community Affairs, in May, that Tusca sought to bring newly-established Black trade unions "under the heavy hand of White leadership", Tucsa's general-secretary, Mr. Arthur Grobbelaar, said: "(Mr. Dladla's) aspirations remain those of a sectional Black

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[32] *Ibid*, 6 November.
[33] *Financial Mail*, 19 July.
[1] *Star*, 12 February.
[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 12, 13, 14 February.
[3] *Ibid*., 20 February; *Star*, 21 February.
[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 April.

Power politician and he is basically trying to find any issue which will gain him the senior political position in KwaZulu politics, that of Chief Executive Councillor."[5]

At the Tucsa congress in September the incoming president, Mr. T. P. Murray, said that very few homeland leaders had ever seen a factory unless they drove past one in their cars. He went on, "I certainly don't want anyone from the homelands coming into the engineering industry to tell us how to run that." Chief Gatsha Buthelezi responded to this statement: "This is just White arrogance . . . We will be involved wherever our people are. We cannot abandon them . . ."[6]

Tucsa also rejected the Durban unionist, Mrs. Harriet Bolton's allegations that Mr. Grobbelaar had warned officials of her union against meddling in politics.[7] Later reports had it that Tucsa was seeking special powers to discipline its officials.[8]

During May, the vice-president of the Norwegian Federation of Labour visited the Republic and invited Tucsa officials to hold talks with his executive.[9]

At Tucsa's twentieth annual conference held in Port Elizabeth during September, the U.S. Regional Labour Officer for Southern Africa, Mr. Arthur Purcell, recommended that U.S. firms operating in S.A. recognise unregistered (African) trade unions.[10]

The conference unanimously resolved that the Government be asked to appoint a commission of enquiry to consider including Africans in the definition of "employee" in the Industrial Conciliation Act.[11] There was an overwhelming vote in favour of re-opening Tucsa membership to African unions, excluded since 1969.[12] However, it seems that the African unions are more interested in practical co-operation with registered unions than formal affiliation to Tucsa. Their immediate interests lie in obtaining access to factories and consultative facilities in connection with industrial agreements.[13]

In November, Tucsa accepted the British TUC offer of sponsorship for the training of African trade unionists and decided to ask for financial assistance for its education programme.[14]

Workers Service and Educational Organisations

During the last three years a number of organisations have been created with the object of providing services to workers. These are listed below with a brief outline of their programmes and activities.

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[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 May.
[6] *Star*, 24 September.
[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 July.
[8] *Ibid.*, 10 July.
[9] *Ibid.*, 21 May.
[10] *Star*, 23 September.
[11] *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 September.
[12] *Ibid.*, 26 September.
[13] *Financial Mail*, 12 September.
[14] *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November.

The Industrial Aid Society [1]

This Society was founded in Johannesburg, in March 1974, by a group of Black workers active in promoting organisation among workers. A major aim was to promote industrial organisation and to assist emerging groups of workers. The activities of the I.A.S. fall into four categories:

1. Dissemination of information
   The I.A.S. is responsible for the preparation and/or distribution of three types of publications—
   - (a) Workers' newspapers
   - (b) Newsletters
   - (c) Factory pamphlets and information sheets.
2. Provision of a training and information service for workers and organisers.
   - (a) Worker education
     Workers are informed of their rights under the law and minimum wage rates and conditions of employment pertaining to their particular industry. Various types of worker organisation, their legal aspects, and their practical value and limitations are dealt with. A course on South African trade union history is also given.
   - (b) Literacy
     This programme operates on four levels: the teaching of literacy in African languages, the teaching of spoken English, English literacy, and the development of self-sufficiency in functionally literate groups.
3. Complaints and Advice Service.
   This is used by a wide range of workers.
4. Provision of certain material benefits.
   Membership of the I.A.S. is linked to a proposed Benefits Fund which will provide death and retirement benefits to all members.

The main thrust of the I.A.S. has been aimed at creating strong "grass roots" organisations in factories.

The Institute for Industrial Education [2]

This Institute was founded in Durban in May 1973. Its aim was to serve as a correspondence school for trade unionists of all races, and to offer an education which provides the basic information and skills necessary for effective trade union activity.

The Institute offers a Diploma in Industrial Relations—a one year course for workers in general—the presumption being that students have a relatively limited amount of formal education. The course is divided into three sections.

(i) The worker in the factory
(ii) The workers' organisation

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[1] *I.A.S.* Memorandum on the Industrial Aid Society.
[2] Memorandum. Institute for Industrial Education.

(iii) The worker in society.

It is proposed to bring out a revised series of Handbooks for 1975 including: *Problems of Workers' Organisations; History of Workers' Organisations; Factory Economics; The Worker in Society;* and a revised *Legal Handbook*.

There are also plans to offer a shop-steward Tutors' Training Course in the form of a Diploma in Labour Studies in 1975.[3] The course is to be based on practical work, and to provide the student with the theoretical knowledge and skills necessary to carry out practical work.

A language laboratory facility and workers' library are also planned. An independent journal, the *South African Labour Bulletin*, appeared in April 1974, and six issues have been produced thus far.

Urban Training Project [4]

The Urban Training Project was started in 1971, and after two years of experience its constitution was formulated and adopted in 1973. It is a workers' service organisation directed mainly at Black workers and their organisations. Its service is educational, organisational, administrative and advisory.

The Urban Training Project produced *Workers Calendars* in 1973 and 1974 in English, Zulu and Sotho, dealing respectively with Workers' Committees, legal rights and essentials of organisation. It also gave assistance to workers in legal actions resulting from employer hostility to works committees.

The U.T.P. runs trade union courses for workers in Johannesburg, in the form of Shop Steward/Active member courses, with attention being given to the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act, and committee work, often using situational role play. In Durban the U.T.P. representative conducted courses for workers and assisted in the formation of certain unions and benefit funds. Weekend residential seminars have been held for workers in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban as well as one-day seminars for African trade unionists in Johannesburg.

The U.T.P. also offers an advice service to workers seeking assistance with problems.

Publications by the U.T.P. in demand and used extensi[illegible]y in courses and seminars are: the *Workers Calendar; What is [illegible]rade Union; Summaries of Industrial Laws;* and *African Right[illegible]nd the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Amendment Act*. A booklet written by the U.T.P. Chairman, Mr. Douwes Dekker, *Are Works Committees Trade Unions*? was published by the Institute of Race Relations.

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[3] I.I.E. Shop Steward Tutors Training Course. (Diploma in Labour Studies.)

[4] Urban Training Project. *Report for 1973 and Projects for 1974.*

Western Province Workers' Advice Bureau [5]

This body was started in Cape Town in March 1973 with the aim of:

a. providing advice to workers on matters concerning wages, working conditions, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, etc.;
b. providing advice to workers on procedures for forming works committees, workers' committees or trade unions;
c. acting as an information centre for workers on matters related to wages and labour affairs;
d. providing for the establishment of a benefit fund offering funeral, medical or other benefits.

The Bureau has about 3 000 individual members, and 34 corporate works committee members. Membership is open to all races, but is predominantly African at the present time.

The organisation employs two full-time African workers, and its affairs are regulated by an executive committee elected from its membership.

When it became evident that some form of worker education was necessary a Workers' Advisory Project was set up by a group of volunteers in September 1973. The Advisory Project runs both general and special courses for workers. The general courses are concerned with the mechanics of worker organisations, and the special courses are more specifically problem-oriented and run on request of workers from particular establishments. An instruction manual for use in workers' courses is being compiled.

Chair of Industrial and Labour Relations

The director of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation, Mr. Errol Drummond, announced that Seifsa was to finance a chair and research department in industrial and labour relations at the University of South Africa.[6]

The International Labour Movement

The director-general of the International Labour Organisation, Mr. Francis Blanchard, said that the South African Government was becoming increasingly aware of "the potentially explosive consequences of the enormous wage gap between African and White workers".[1]

Leading trade union movements in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, West Germany and Britain as well as one of the main union groups in the Netherlands have created a standing committee to consider policies towards South Africa and the status of African workers in particular.[2]

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[5] Western Province Workers Advice Bureau—Constitution.

[6] *Sunday Tribune*, 20 October.

[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 May.

[2] *Star*, 12 June.

Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo of the National Union of Clothing Workers was invited to attend the International Labour Organisation conference in Geneva in June.[3] Following attempts to prevent her addressing the Conference she withdrew her request to speak and suggested the matter be left open for another year.[4]

The British TUC plan to help build an African labour movement in South Africa had a mixed reception from delegates of Black states,[5] but it appeared that the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity was ready to support the British plan, whilst warning the TUC and the ICFTU unions against "going it alone" in giving aid to African workers.[6]

Tucsa issued an official invitation to the workers' group of the International Labour Organisation to visit South Africa.[7] The Secretary-general of the OATUU, Mr. Dennis Akumu, announced that the Africa bloc would endorse a fact-finding visit provided the South African Government did not object.[8]

STRIKES AND WORK STOPPAGES

It is difficult to form a reliable picture of the strike wave in S.A. from its commencement at the end of 1972 to November 1974. Estimates given from time to time by various authorities differ considerably. According to information given by the Minister of Labour, there were 246 strikes involving African workers during 1973 and 54 during the first 6 months of 1974.[1] These strikes involved 75 843 workers and took place across a very broad spectrum of economic activity. Those industries most seriously affected were: iron, steel, engineering and metallurgical industries, 39 strikes; textile industry, 30; clothing industry, 22; building industry, 18; commercial distributive trade, 15; civil engineering, 14; transport undertakings, 13; local authorities, 12; motor industry, 10; wood working industry, 8; meat trade, 7; cement products, 6; unskilled labour, 6; and dairy industry, 5 strikes.

Of these strikes and work stoppages, 279 were attributable principally to wage demands, 12 to dismissals, engagements or re-engagements, four to benefits, four to miscellaneous other causes, and one to the issue of recognition of a trade union. The total number of man-hours lost was in the region of 1 517 000.[2]

On the other hand, the Minister of Police said [3] that during 1973 the police had been called to the scene of 46 labour disputes,

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[3] *Ibid.*, 11 June.
[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18, 19, 20, 22 June; *Star*, 19 June.
[5] *Ibid.*, 17 June.
[6] *Ibid.*, 22 June.
[7] *Ibid.*, 25 June.
[8] *Sunday Tribune*, 30 June.
[1] Hansard 6 cols. 385—400, 9 September.
[2] Calculated from information given by the Minister.
[3] Hansard 8 col. 585, 27 September.

16 work stoppages and 261 strikes. Seventy-one workers were arrested and 38 prosecuted as a result of labour disputes, 38 were arrested and none prosecuted as a result of work stoppages, and 244 workers were arrested and 169 prosecuted as a result of strikes during 1973. In the first 6 months of 1974 police had been called to the scene of 47 labour disputes, 28 work stoppages and 113 strikes.

Ninety-six workers were arrested and 42 prosecuted as a result of labour disputes, 56 arrested and 35 prosecuted as a result of work stoppages, and 400 arrested and 362 prosecuted as a result of the 1974 strikes.

The Minister, however, also said that in the period June 1972 to June 1974, 222 work stoppages involving 78 216 workers had occurred in Natal alone.[4] Information on the numbers charged and convicted for striking illegally was not available at that time.[5]

On this question in his address at the opening of Parliament, the State President said [6]:

> "Persisting efforts on the part of subversive organisations to incite factions of the population to unrest are being effectively countered by the constant vigilance of the South African Police. Isolated strikes and protest campaigns which, according to certain publications, mouthpieces of the South African Communist Party and other subversive organisations, are being instigated or given moral support have had no significant effect."

The Minister of Labour opined that [7]: "As far as these Bantu strikes are concerned, it is very clear that Whites are behind them, Whites who want to use the Black worker only as a weapon to upset the existing order in this country. If there is one thing which this Government will by no means tolerate, it is agitators who do not want to make use of the workers' existing constitutional channels, and want to undermine law and order in this country. That is why the Government banned four people in Natal.[8] It is very striking that not even the shadow Minister referred to that. Do you know what one of the reasons for that is? Because he has apparently heard that the industrialists, his own political people in Natal, considered this action to be the correct one by a Government which wants to maintain law and order after its having given these people fair treatment."

Mr. V. W. Raw (U.P.) said in reply: "He (the Minister of Labour) said there were no strikes, except for a few that were created by agitators. I am not going to argue that there were no agitators . . . he laid the blame on criminal agitation . . . I challenge the hon. the Minister to bring them to court so that the world can see that criminal revolutionaries were responsible for the strikes and not R9 per week wages, R8 per week wages, or lower wages, in many cases." [9]

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[4] Hansard 1 col. 7, 6 August.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, col. 1, 2 August.
[7] *Ibid.*, cols. 280—281, 6 February.
[8] David Hemson, Halton Cheadle, David Davis, Jeanette Cunningham-Brown (see relevant section of this *Survey*).
[9] Hansard 1 cols. 290—291, 7 February.

The Schlebusch/Le Grange Commission [10] appointed in 1972, suggested *inter alia* that: "The Nusas leaders concerned, and their henchmen, are using the wages question, which is charged with emotion, as the fuse and Bantu workers as the powder to ignite a revolution and then to stand back with their hands washed clean, less they themselves should get scorched in the fire." [11] The *S.A. Labour Bulletin* 1(5) for August 1974 carried a brief critique of the Commission's findings.

In its annual report for 1973, the Natal Chamber of Industries attributed Durban's labour unrest, in part, to the activities of the Students' Wages Commission, the organisers of the General Workers' Benefit Fund and the left-wing of Tucsa. The N.C.I.'s report also levelled the following accusations at the press: "Press coverage of the labour unrest was such that much of it could have been construed as support for striking workers, a situation which may have led to escalation of the strikes. Newspapers are, of course, free to adopt whatever standpoint they wish in these matters, but it is a matter for regret that reporting was clouded with sensationalism and was frequently far from objective, stories and pictures being presented in such a way that Africans engaged in strike action could well have derived encouragment from them." [12] Tucsa denied the N.C.I.'s allegations and veteran Durban unionist, Mrs. Harriet Bolton, said: "As for agitation, this was, as has been said before, in the belly of the workers. They did not need telling they were badly off." [13] The Mayor of Durban at the time, Mr. Ron Williams, said that he had "nothing but praise" for newspaper coverage of the events.[14]

Also in December, 1973, the Durban Chamber of Commerce called for Government action to prevent homeland authorities from becoming involved in negotiations or disputes in "White" areas.[15] In September 1974, in response to a communique from the Secretary for Bantu Administration warning it against interceding on behalf of Zulu workers in labour disputes in "White" S.A., the KwaZulu Government announced: "We cannot see ourselves turning a deaf ear to any pleas from our people for intercession as our people have no proper machinery for negotiation and we cannot be insensitive to any alleged exploitation of our people." [16]

As noted above the strike wave continued in 1974. In January a strike hit the hotel industry in Durban at the same time as a new wage agreement was implemented.[17] The dairy industry on the

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[10] See pages 52—54 of the 1972 issue, pages 24—38 of the 1973 issue, and the relevant section of this issue of this *Survey*, for information on this Government Commission.
[11] Fourth Interim Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organisations. R.P. 33/1974.
[12] *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 December 1973; *Financial Mail*, 7 December 1973.
[13] *Star*, 5 December 1973; *Financial Mail*, 7 December 1973.
[14] *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 December, 1973
[15] *Ibid.*, 7 December 1973.
[16] *Star*, 20 September.
[17] *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 January.

Witwatersrand was also badly affected by strike action involvi wage increases.[18]

In Durban about 1 200 employees of the Frame Group's Ne Germany Pinetex Mill struck for higher wages in the wake of new wage order published by the Minister of Labour.[19] Poli arrested 250 workers as the strike spread through ten texti factories.[20] Protests about these arrests were lodged with the U by the ICFTU. Later 217 workers were fined R5 each f disturbing the peace.[21] The strike reached a climax with a march about 5 000 workers led by KwaZulu's Councillor for Communi Development, Mr. Barney Dladla, on the Frame Group's ma textile mill at New Germany, where negotiations wi management were conducted. When the results of tl negotiations were announced, workers regrouped at the nearl Clermont Stadium where they were addressed by Mr. Dladla ar Mr. Halton Cheadle, one of the four trade unionists banned week later.[22] The Frame Group later announced that it wou meet to consider wage increases over and above those announce to workers by Mr. Dladla.[23]

The Minister of Labour urged employers to ensure fa treatment of employees, including fair wages, and to do everythi in their power to improve communication with their workers. the same time he warned workers that the Government w determined to maintain order and that it would not hesitate to tal the necessary action where there was defiance of the law. He al urged employers to show the courage of their convictions by n retaining in employment persons who had no respect for law ar order.[24]

A dispute broke out in March between Leyland Mot Corporation and African workers at its Durban assembly pla over trade union recognition. Leyland dismissed all 220 Africa employed at its Mobeni plant after most of them had staged two-day strike because management refused to negotiate with tl Metal and Allied Workers' Union. Most of the workers were r employed but 65 were later retrenched, an action regarded by tl workers as a reprisal, and therefore victimisation. The worke refused to elect a new workers' committee to replace the m dismissed and Leyland agreed to consult with African unic representatives, but only those employed at the plant. Furth claims of victimisation were made by workers in August.[25]

In July widespread strikes by dissatisfied African worke demanding immediate pay increases hit engineering firms in :

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[18] *Star*, 29 January.
[19] *Star*, 29, 30 January, *Rand Daily Mail*, 30, 31 January.
[20] *Rand Daily Mail*, 22, 23 24 January, *Star*, 21, 22, 23 January.
[21] *Star* and *Transvaler*, 24 January.
[22] *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 January.
[23] *Ibid*., 25 January.
[24] *Star*, 2 February.
[25] *Financial Mail*, 8, 22 March, *Rand Daily Mail*, 15, 21 March; *Star* 16 August.

Transvaal, Free State and Natal. Eleven companies, four on the East Rand, six at Welkom and one in Durban were affected by work stoppages involving an estimated 3 000 workers.[26] The wave continued and by July 24 an estimated further fifteen companies on the Reef in other sectors of the economy had been affected.[27] An article in the *Financial Mail* on these strikes [28] maintained that worker dissatisfaction with low wages coupled with the critical lack of worker-management contact, due to failure of the works and liaison committee system, were major contributory factors. On the other hand, the Secretary for Labour attributed the strikes to the way in which the engineering industry went about announcing and implementing a 7c an hour wage increase shortly before the strikes took place. Another Labour official went even further and was quoted by *Die Vaderland* as saying there was no question of any leftist agitation behind the strikes.[29] The South African Institute of Personnel Management attributed them to three factors:

- Lack of co-ordinated action on wages, communication, job opportunities and training.
- Inadequate use of professional personnel and training management in South Africa.
- A lack of clear directives and incentives from the Government.[30]

It was also noted that the majority of Africans involved in the Witwatersrand strikes had been low-paid contract labourers living in hostels.[31]

Following in the wake of the strikes on the Witwatersrand a wave of strikes affected the East London and Border Area. Between 22 July and 3 August there were strikes in at least 21 firms, involving over 5 000 workers in East London and a strike of 3 500 workers in one firm in neighbouring King William's Town. Once the initial impetus had been given by a strike at Car Distributor Assemblies in East London of 1 500 workers demanding a 25% wage increase, the strikes spread in successive clusters through the various industrial areas. By 30 July a strike of African bus-drivers threatened to paralyse the city, as most workers commute from the "homeland" town of Mdantsane, about 12 miles from East London itself. The bus-drivers' strike ended with the intervention of Ciskeian homeland leaders, and by 3 August virtually all East London strikers had returned to work.[32]

During this labour unrest police used dogs and teargas to disperse strikers outside the Car Distributor Assemblies plant and at Consolidated Textiles. More than 100 striking bus-drivers were detained under the Riotous Assemblies Act, but agreed to return to work following an appeal by the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Mr. L. L. Sebe, who was approached by employers after he had asked industrialists to call on homeland leaders rather than the police to settle labour disputes.[33] Police also used teargas to disperse crowds at the Good Hope Textiles Mill at Zwelitsha, where workers were demanding an increase in wages from R9 to R24 per week.[34] Good Hope's workers decided to return to work after being told that wage increases could only be considered at the end of the year.[35]

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[26] *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 July.
[27] "Guesstimate" by writer based on press reports.
[28] *Financial Mail*, 19 July.
[29] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 July.
[30] *Ibid.*, 24 July.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] Gerry Mare. *The East London Strikes*. In: *S.A. Labour Bulletin*, vol. 1(5), August 1974. pp. 26—32.

The United Party M.P. for Pinetown, Mr. Graham McIntosh, intervened in a strike by 1 500 workers at the Frame Group's two Mobeni Mills which had halted production for a week. The strikers resolved to return to work and to negotiate new wage agreements through their works committee after Mr. McIntosh told them that management had assured him that no-one would be dismissed and that the conditions of service of those returning to work would not be adversely affected.[36]

A strike by 300 women for higher wages at Turnwright's Sweet Factory in Johannesburg in August was marked by the intercession of a representative of the registered Sweet Workers' Union (of Whites, Coloured people and Indians), their march through the centre of Johannesburg, and the involvement of the Black Allied Workers' Union which aided the workers in their negotiations with management.[37]

Other serious strikes and work stoppages which occurred between September and November were: a strike by nearly 300 African employees of Nautilus Marine (Pty), ship maintenance contractors in Table Bay harbour, after the dismissal of ten employees and management's refusal to give reasons to the works committee;[38] a strike by the entire African work force of more than 650 men at Hulett's Empangeni Sugar Mill about food served in their compound, during which policemen using teargas and dogs to disperse a crowd were injured.[39] Further strikes occurred at Hulett's establishment at Darnall and Stanger in November, and these were also characterised by confrontation between angry workers and police.[40]

A dispute about overtime at the Motor Assemblies plant at Prospecton led to the dismissal of 260 Black employees, the entire work force in the paint shop department.[41]

Between 500 and 600 workers at Johannesburg's Baragwanath Hospital were arrested and taken to John Vorster

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[33] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26, 30 July; *Star*, 30 July, 1 August.

[34] *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 August.

[35] *Ibid.*, 8 August.

[36] *Star*, 12, 14, 15, 16, and 19 August; *Financial Mail*, 23 August.

[37] *Rand Daily Mail*, 22, 23, 24 August.

[38] *Ibid.*, 3 October.

[39] *Star*, 25 October; *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 October.

[40] *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 and 18 November.

[41] *Star*, 24 October.

Square (Johannesburg police headquarters) after striking for higher wages. They returned to work after being addressed by a senior medical officer.[42]

About 300 African workers employed by the Randburg Municipality in essential services were arrested for striking after a wage dispute with the council. Eighty-nine were held in custody and convicted of breaking their contracts. They were each sentenced to R20 or 20 days and would have to return to their homelands. The remainder were released on their own recognisances after agreeing to return to work. A total of 161 were convicted of striking, fined R20 or 20 days each, and held in custody until their fines were paid by their employer.[43]

Following a work stoppage at Pilkington Brothers glass factory in Springs over the dismissal of a worker, an urgent application was made in the Rand Supreme Court for the reinstatement of twenty-two Africans who had been dismissed. Four of these workers were said to be members of the African works committee and the application sought prosecution of the company for victimisation in terms of section 24 of the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act. The application was still being heard when this *Survey* went to press.[44]

(See also the section on mining for further information on work stoppages, strikes and disturbances.)

BANTU LABOUR RELATIONS REGULATION ACT

General

The separate machinery established to deal with African labour relations and its revision in 1973 were described on pages 273—281 and 286—291 of last year's issue of this *Survey*. The principal instruments are the Central Bantu Labour Board, Regional Bantu Labour Committees, and (African) works, liaison and co-ordinating works committees.

There are twelve Regional Bantu Labour Committees located in the following principal industrialised urban areas[1]: Johannesburg, Benoni, Vereeniging, Krugersdorp, Germiston, Klerksdorp, Pretoria, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. At the beginning of the year twenty-six Bantu Labour Officers and/or Assistants were functioning. Two were in Pretoria, seven in Johannesburg, three in Bloemfontein, five in Durban, three in Cape Town, two in Port Elizabeth, two in East London, one in George and one in Kimberley.

However, in September, the Minister of Labour said that 39 (White) Bantu labour officials were functioning and since August

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[42] *Ibid.*, 29, 30 October; *Rand Daily Mail*, 30, 31 October.
[43] *Rand Daily Mail*, 2, 5, 13 November.
[44] *Star*, 6 November; *Rand Daily Mail*, 12, 13, 15 November.
[1] Hansard 1 cols. 21—22, 8 February.

1973 they had visited 1 100 employers of approximately 400 000 African workers. The Minister said, further [2]: "I felt that it would also be a good thing if we could find Black people who will act as Bantu labour officers. I have asked my department to go into this matter and to make a submission to me in this regard, so that we will be able to train Blacks also to be Bantu labour officers."

The Act also provides for the appointment of designated officers at the request of any body administering an order made by the Minister. In September the Minister said that two White designated officers had been appointed but no Africans had.[3]

Works and Liaison Committees

The Minister of Labour said in August that 24 works committees established in terms of the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act [1] were functioning as at the end of 1972. During 1973, 773 liaison committees, 125 works committees, and 3 co-ordinating works committees had been established, and in the first 6 months of 1974 a further 326 liaison committees, and 54 works committees had been established.[2]

Later, in the Labour debate Mr. J. M. Henning (N.P.) said that over the 13-month period from 1 August 1973 to 30 August 1974, 182 works committees, 1 134 liaison committees and 3 co-ordinating committees, promoting the interests of 450 000 African workers had been established.[3]

From figures given by the Minister of Labour [4] it appears that approximately 48 percent of works committees and 47 percent of liaison committees are in the Transvaal, 25 percent of works committees and 31 percent of liaison committees in Natal, 25 percent of works committees and 18 percent of liaison committees in the Cape, and 2 percent of works committees and 4 percent of liaison committees in the Orange Free State.

In February the Minister of Labour, dealing with the question of worker representation, deplored the United Party's support for African trade union rights, and went on to say:

> "Since they have done this, I want to put it very clearly that this Government which regards that trade union organisation as unnecessary and in the interests of neither the Black workers, nor South Africa, will continue with this present system of communication . . . I want to repeat that the machinery which has now been developed to meet South Africa's circumstances and requirements, is the right machinery and the best." [5]

The Minister of Labour, defending Government policy during the labour debate and pointing to the increasing number of works and liaison committees, said:

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[2] Hansard 7 col. 3022, 16 September.
[3] Hansard 8 cols. 564—5, 24 September.
[1] See 1973 *Survey*, p. 274—276.
[2] Hansard 3 cols. 160—161, 22 August.
[3] Hansard 7 col. 2982, 16 September.
[4] Hansard 7 col. 513, 20 September.
[5] Hansard 1 col. 281, 6 February.

> "In general these committees are working well . . . These liaison and works committees at present cover approximately a half million Black workers. In other words, many more Black workers today have the opportunity of negotiating more directly with their employers than they would have through any trade union organisation. Black workers today enjoy negotiating opportunities which even White trade unions envy them." [6]

Dr. A. L. Boraine (P.P.), said that works and liaison committees had proved ineffectual in dealing with a labour/management conflict situation. He asked that a commission be appointed to examine labour representation, failing which the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act at least be amended to do away with the liaison committee system with the works committee system being made compulsory.[7]

In April the Natal Chamber of Industries held a conference on problems arising from the institution of liaison committees in terms of the Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act. According to the NCI Labour Affairs Committee chairman, Mr. R. C. Throssel, the 25 Black liaison committee members who participated in the seminar highlighted five major requirements for permanent industrial peace:

- Black workers expect management to play an effective role in the functioning of liaison committees and not just to treat them as a channel for non-productive talk.
- Management should give sympathetic hearings to members of liaison committees so that all Black workers' views can be aired.
- Detailed explanations should be given for employers' rejections of requests from workers.
- Liaison committees should be provided with status within the industrial system, or the system would break down.
- Management should make decisions quickly and transmit such decisions to employees immediately.[8]

There was a report in April that growing interest among African workers on the Witwatersrand in the works committee system was creating unease amongst some employers and Security Police officials in the area. Some African workers who ventured to exercise their legal rights and demanded that works committees be established in their firms accused their employers of victimisation.[9]

At a round table discussion held by the *Financial Mail* in July an invited panel of 12 discussed current labour issues, including the effectiveness of works and liaison committees, Black workers' attitudes towards them, the strength of the Black demand for trade union rights, and management's response to this. The feeling amongst Blacks present was that committees were often thrust

[6] Hansard 7 cols. 3014—3015, 16 September.
[7] Hansard 7 cols. 2996—2998, 16 September.
[8] *Sunday Tribune*, (Financial Section), 28 April.
[9] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 April.

upon workers without their knowledge or consent, that management did not always listen to the committees which had no real status, and that anti-victimisation provisions were of little use to workers as protection. There was also a feeling that the effectiveness of works and liaison committees depended on the employers' goodwill. On the other hand, employers felt that committees were beginning to work quite well in showing up faults in organisation and indicating where improvements could be made in working conditions. Reservations about trade unions were expressed because employers felt they were based on a confrontation model of industrial relations.[10]

In Natal, where African unions are particularly vigorous, the resistance of African workers to the committee system was reportedly especially noticeable.[11]

At the SABRA conference in September, mentioned earlier, the Minister of Labour discussed the question of the works and liaison committee system. He accepted that a commission of enquiry into the system of communication (between workers and management) might become necessary but only after employers and Black workers had had more experience with the committee system to make their evidence meaningful.[12]

A paper presented by Professor Van der Merwe [13] of the University of Pretoria on Black labour relations was regarded as dealing with one of the key issues being debated at the conference. He listed the alternative courses of action available in dealing with the problem of labour relations, namely:

(i) maintaining the status quo;
(ii) integrated trade unions;
(iii) the recognition of parallel trade unions;
(iv) labour agreements with homeland governments which would permit the establishment of *de jure* trade unions in the homelands functioning as *de facto* unions in the urban areas.

He then suggested that African workers who qualify in terms of section 10(i) (a) and (b) of the Bantu (Urban Areas Consolidation) Act be permitted to have legally recognised trade union rights. In conclusion he expressed his personal preference for this alternative although he accepted the difficulties which this might entail. He also said that labour agreements with homeland authorities had become an absolute necessity. However, the conference itself appeared to reject his suggestion on African trade union rights.[14]

A conference of industrialists, representatives of Government departments and labour leaders, organised by the S.A. Institute of

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[10] *Financial Mail*, 19 July.

[11] *Sunday Times (Business Times)*, 28 July.

[12] L. C. G. Douwes Dekker. *SABRA Conference September 1974*. Report on matters raised under the subject of trade unions and committees. RR. 162/74.

[13] P. J. van der Merwe. *Swart Arbeidsverhoudinge*. Toespraak gelewer by geleentheid van die 1974 kongres van SABRA oor Swartarbeid op Vrydag 20 September.

[14] L. C. G. Douwes Dekker. *Op. cit.*

Personnel Management in October called on commerce and industry to up-grade the Government's works and liaison committee system into an effective tool for labour relations.[15] Their call was endorsed by Mr. I. Martin, President of the Confederation of Labour, who said that the liaison committee system introduced in 1973 was expanding far too slowly.[16]

The S.A. Institute of Personnel Management established a "Steering Committee" aimed at creating the machinery needed to improve industrial relations in Southern Africa. The Committee is to provide the expertise, influence and finance for the venture, and is to include representatives of Government, organised employers, Black and White worker movements and labour experts.[17]

At the annual meeting of SEIFSA in October [18] the president, Mr. J. P. Coetzee, said that it was necessary to ensure that the attitudes and aspirations of African workers were "correctly filtered" through to meetings at which their conditions of service were being discussed. He went on: "There has been no Black worker participation in the negotiating meetings, this being handled through the participation by members of central Bantu Labour Boards. The Bantu Labour Relations Regulation Act makes provision, however, for Bantu participation." He felt that the role of liaison and works committees should be re-emphasised.

At a National Development and Management Foundation conference on works and liaison committees the Minister of Labour said that the Government intended granting African workers "more and more participation" in wage-fixing processes; that he was considering extending the committee system to operate on an industry basis; and making committee agreements legally binding. He also pointed out that more Africans were being appointed in the Department of Labour to assist the Bantu Labour Officers in the various areas, and that more Africans from company committees were being appointed to regional committees of the Central Bantu Labour Board, which represents Africans at wage-fixing meetings.[19]

A speaker at the conference pointed out that although the number of committees had grown in absolute terms, the present figure of about 1 500 represented only about 5 percent of the country's 30 000-odd factories which could have some form of registered committee. A number of the delegates described the operation of the committee system in their companies, while a few described multi-racial committees operating in their establishments.[20]

In March, the Natal Region of the S.A. Institute of Race

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[15] *Star*, 3 October.
[16] *Ibid.*, 7 October.
[17] *People and Profits*, November 1974.
[18] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 October.
[19] *Ibid.*, 14 November.
[20] *Ibid.*, 15 November.

Relations held a workshop on labour organisation and the African worker. This was attended by employers, Black and White workers including some labour leaders, and service organisations. The proceedings were published.[21] A similar seminar was held by the Cape Town branch of the S.A.I.R.R. in October.

BANTU LABOUR ACT AND MASTERS AND SERVANTS LAWS

The Government introduced the Second General Law Amendment Bill to repeal, *inter alia*, legislation dealing with masters and servants dating from 1856. The laws repealed were the following: Cape of Good Hope Acts numbers 15 of 1856, 18 of 1873, 28 of 1874, 7 of 1875, 30 of 1889, 20 of 1892; Natal Ordinances numbers 2 of 1850 and 13 of 1852, and Laws numbers 18 of 1862, 23 of 1865, 17 of 1882, 12 of 1885, 3 of 1891, 40 of 1894, 13 of 1896, 21 of 1907, 12 of 1908; Orange Free State Ordinance 7 of 1904; Transvaal Law 13 of 1880 and Act 27 of 1909. All the above were repealed *in toto*, as were two Union Acts, numbers 26 of 1926 and 23 of 1952.

Certain sections of the Republican Bantu Labour Act (67 of 1964) were also repealed, namely *sections 13(6) (b), (d)* and *(7)* dealing with penalties for breach of contract entered into with labour agents; *section 14(d)* dealing with prohibitions on harbouring Africans who had unlawfully left their employers; *section 15* which made it a criminal offence, punishable by a fine of up to R50 or three month's imprisonment for an African contract worker employed on any mine or works to:

(a) desert or absent himself without lawful cause from his place of employment or fail to carry out the terms of his contract;
(b) cause injury to persons or property;
(c) neglect to perform his duty or make himself unfit to do so by the use of dagga (marijuana) or other habit-forming drugs or taking liquor;
(d) refuse to obey a lawful command of his employer or use insulting language to any person lawfully in authority over him;
(e) take benefits from an employer or his agent after having already accepted such benefits from a previous employer before completion of the original employment contract; *section 18(1) (c), (2) and (3)* dealing with the powers of Bantu Labour Inspectors with respect to offences committed under section 15, *section 19* dealing with the powers of Bantu Labour Inspectors to subpoena witnesses and conduct proceedings; and *section 22(6) (b) (iii)* dealing with the power of district or municipal labour officers to refuse to sanction the employment in an urban area of an African who has not been released from obligations under an earlier contract of employment or labour tenancy.

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[21] Labour Organisation and the African Worker. Johannesburg, S.A.I.R.R., 1974.

These Acts had received very critical attention in the U.S. where miners and dockworkers tried in August to prevent a ship from discharging South African coal in Mobile, Alabama, on the grounds that it constituted a contravention of section 307 of the United States Tariff Act of 1930, which prohibits the importation of goods produced by indentured labour under the threat of penal sanctions. The United Mineworkers Union of America argued that S.A. coal imports were a threat to the jobs of 8 000 union members in Alabama, and that Black labour conditions in S.A. enabled operators to produce S.A. coal cheaply enough to compete with U.S. coal.[1]

The *Star's* U.S. Bureau reported that the repeal of the penal provisions of this complex of masters and servants laws had removed the grounds for a joint court action brought by the Attorney-General of Alabama and United Mineworkers Union, designed to prevent power companies in the American South from importing S.A. coal.[2]

In the year ended 30 June 1973 the Commissioner of Police reported that there were 16 477 "cases referred for trial" in terms of the Masters and Servants Act and Bantu Labour Regulation Act. It is not possible to isolate from these statistics specifically "masters and servants cases".[3]

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

During the year under review two lists totalling about 7 000 names, were published of awards under the Workmen's Compensation Act that had been unclaimed for twelve months or more.[1] Roughly 80 percent of the persons concerned were Africans.

The Minister of Labour said that separate statistics in respect of unclaimed awards made to the various race groups under the Act were only maintained for Africans. In 1973, 439 awards to Whites, Coloured people and Asians amounting to R6 254,94 remained unclaimed, representing 0,1 percent of the total amount awarded. In the same year 3 164 awards to Africans amounting to R30 601,65 were unclaimed, representing 0,8 percent of the total sum awarded in compensation.[2]

The Accident Fund paid an amount of R6 493 663 to Whites, Coloured people and Asians and R3 807 341 to Africans in 1973. Medical aid, payments to doctors, hospitals, etc., in respect of all races in 1973 amounted to R7 434 911.[3]

The Government introduced a Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1941.[4] This raised the wage limit for the compulsory insurance of workmen from R5 460 to R7 260 per annum. It raised the age limit of a workman's dependent children from seventeen to eighteen years, increased the wage ceiling on which compensation is determined in cases of disablement from R200 to R247 per month, and adjusted the monthly wage ceiling on which earlier pensions were being paid for accidents prior to 1 August 1971 from R150 to R200. Unclaimed moneys due to Africans which at present flow into the Reserve Fund after all possible attempts to locate the beneficiaries have been made, may now be applied for the general welfare of Africans. The amending Act also empowers the Workmen's Compensation Commissioner to impose a penalty upon an employer who fails to report an accident to a workman in his employ within thirty days of its being brought to the employer's attention.

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[1] *Financial Mail*, 20 September.
[2] *Star*, 8 November.
[3] Commissioner of the S.A.P. Annual report for 1972/73. R.P. 50/1974.
[1] *Gazettes* of 8 March and 28 June.
[2] Hansard 5 cols. 282—3, 3 September.
[3] Hansard 3 cols. 174—175, 23 August.
[4] The Bill was enacted as the Workmen's Compensation Amendment Act (No. 11 of 1974).

The exemption from paying assessments to the Accident Fund which the original Act granted to the State and various subordinate bodies was extended to the homelands legislative assemblies and the S.A. Bantu Trust.

During the debate U.P. members questioned the way in which these unclaimed moneys were to be applied for the "general welfare" of Africans as well as the way in which officials tried to trace Africans to whom moneys were due.

The Minister replied that the number of unclaimed awards to African workers (5 523 over a six-month period ending in February 1974) was comparatively small in relation to the size of the work force, and that Regulation 19 making provision for the disbursement of unclaimed moneys was to be further defined for greater and more judicious control over these funds.[5]

SHELTERED EMPLOYMENT

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 13 August,[6] the Minister of Labour said that as of 30 June 1974, 1 335 Whites, 402 Coloured people, 15 Indians and 10 Africans were working in sheltered employment schemes falling under his department. No further Africans were to be admitted as the Department of Bantu Administration was responsible for disabled Africans.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education said that there were 11 centres or workshops for disabled Africans employing 1 529 Africans as of May 1974.[7]

The wage rates for unqualified adult persons in sheltered employment, as of 1 July 1974 were as follows:[8] White males from R17,85 to R27,75 per week, White females from R14,95 to R22,90 per week, Coloured and Asian men from R12,25 to R18,90 and Africans R9,90 to R15,45 per week.

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[5] Hansard 2 cols. 937—8, 14 February.
[6] Hansard 2 cols. 63—64, 13 August.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Hansard 12 cols. 787—8, 22 October.

EDUCATION

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS

NATIONAL EXPENDITURE

In reply to questions in the Assembly on 27 February and 27 October,[1] the Minister of Statistics said that the total expenditure on education had been as follows for the financial years stated (the amounts being shown in R-million):

	R-million	
1972—3	*Revenue Acct.*	*Loan Acct.*
The provinces (White education)	309,5	49,7
Department of National Education (mainly Whites)	98,8	4,8
Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs	64,1	—
Department of Indian Affairs	26,9	—
Department of Bantu Education	32,6	—
Bantu homeland governments	38,4	4,0
Other State departments (all racial groups)	10,9	15,9
	581,2	74,4
1973—4		
The provinces	371,1	56,7
Department of National Education	123,1	4,4
Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs	73,4	—
Department of Indian Affairs	32,5	—
Department of Bantu Education	42,2	—
Bantu homeland governments	53,8	—
Other State departments	15,8	16,0
	711,9	77,1

PER CAPITA COSTS

Estimated *per capita* costs for school pupils of the various racial groups, based on current expenditure from public funds, were given by the responsible Ministers in reply to further questions in the Assembly:[2]

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[1] Hansard 4 col. 195; Hansard 8 col. 608.

[2] Minister of Statistics, 25 February, Hansard 4 col. 152; 6 September, Hansard 5 col. 360; Minister of Coloured Relations, 3 September, Hansard 5 col. 286; Minister of Indian Affairs, 11 February, Hansard 2 col. 41, 10 September, Hansard 6 col. 414; Minister of Bantu Education, 13 February, Hansard 2 col. 76; Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, 20 September, Hansard 7 cols. 506, 3412. (It would appear that the figures in respect of Indians may include capital expenditure. Those for 1973—4 are provisional.)

Whites	*1972—3* *R*	*1973—4* *R*
Transvaal	343	387
Cape	470	496
Natal	531	557
Free State	476	495
Coloured		
Primary classes	91,21	
Secondary classes	124,52	
Indian		
Primary classes	112,09	121,22
Secondary classes	145,85	183,49
Africans in "White" areas	22,51	28,56

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said that the *per capita* expenditure on African pupils in South West Africa was R75,75 in 1973—4 (as against R28,56 in the Republic). The amount was higher in South West Africa because pupils there received free "educational means" (presumably text-books, stationery, etc.). He added that the low average figure for Africans was influenced by the facts that so many of them left school before reaching even Std II, and that so large a proportion of the children was in primary classes, where costs were comparatively low.

STANDARDS OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED

In an article contributed to *The Star* on 13 May, Mr. Franz E. Auerbach calculated the numbers and percentages of persons aged 15 years and over in S.A. who had received no schooling at all. His figures were based on 1960 and 1970 census returns.

Race group	*1960* *Total over 15 years*	*Over 15 with no schooling*	*Percent over 15 with no schooling*
Whites	2 082 000	40 400	1,9
Coloured	827 000	276 300	38,0
Asians	264 000	75 900	28,7
Africans	6 393 000	3 993 100	62,5
Total	9 566 000	4 385 700	45,9
	1970		
Whites	2 576 000	23 300	0,9
Coloured	1 102 000	259 700	23,6
Asians	369 000	61 600	16,7
Africans	8 629 000	4 469 700	51,8
Total	12 676 000	4 814 300	38,0

In each case, the *percentages* of adults with no schooling decreased over the ten-year period. But, because of the population explosion, the actual *numbers* of Africans with no schooling increased.

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 22 August,[3] the Minister of Statistics said it was calculated that, as at 6 May 1970, the numbers of persons over the age of 18 years who had or had not passed Std. 2 were:

	Passed Std. 2	*Not passed Std. 2*
Whites	2 330 670	32 273
Coloured	653 155	303 108
Asians	249 189	72 671
Africans	3 087 211	4 606 756

Using census data, the writer made rough estimates of the numbers of Coloured and Asians aged 18 years and over who in 1970 had passed more senior classes:

	Coloured	*Asians*
Std. 6	282 670	140 770
Std. 8	83 300	56 400
Std. 10 and above . . .	18 740	19 780

It was not possible to make similar rough estimates so far as Africans are concerned because tables showing education level by ages in 1970 have not yet been published in their case. All that was feasible was a *very* approximate guess at the numbers aged *20 years* and over who had passed these standards in 1970:

Std. 6	620 200
Std. 8	144 889
Std. 10 and above . . .	21 370

BANTU SCHOOL EDUCATION

BUDGETS OF EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

The budget of the Bantu Education Department includes expenditure on African education in the "White" areas of S.A., in African areas that do not as yet fall under any homeland government, and in the Eastern Caprivi. The total sum voted for the financial year ending 31 March 1975[4] was R59 994 000 (R17 151 000 more than during the previous year).

Two further sums were voted in the estimates of expenditure from Loan Account.[5] The Public Works Department planned to spend R1 500 000 on building industrial training centres for Africans; and the Department of Bantu Administration and

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[3] Hansard 3 col. 158.
[4] Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account, R.P. 2/1974 Vote 16.
[5] R.P. 3/1974 Votes B and N.

Development budgeted for R2 508 000 to be spent on university buildings.

Information is given in the chapter on the Homelands about the sums voted to the governments of these territories for expenditure on all the services they control. They add moneys available from local sources, then decide on the allocations to the various Ministries.

The latest available figures in respect of the expenditure by these governments on education are for the year ended 31 March 1973. They have been extracted from reports by the Controller and Auditor-General, and are given to the nearest rand.

	R
Transkei	*
Ciskei	4 734 807
KwaZulu	8 735 809
BophuthaTswana	6 155 797
Lebowa	6 152 719
Venda	1 705 890
Gazankulu	1 785 157
BasothoQwaqwa	584 628

EXPENDITURE IN 1972—3 AND 1973—4

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 18 October,[6] the Minister of Bantu Education gave the following figures, indicating the total expenditure from State sources on Bantu education, *excluding* expenditure on universities, during the 1972—3 and 1973—4 financial years.

Republic

	1972—3	*1973—4*
Current expenditure	*R*	*R*
Department of Bantu Education	27 626 826	35 125 845
Homelands	43 223 579	53 557 458
Capital works		
Department of Bantu Education	137 725	212 073
Homelands and S.A. Bantu Trust	3 337 768	4 108 252
	74 325 898	93 003 628

South West Africa

Current expenditure		
Department of Bantu Education	3 551 054	4 653 322
Homelands	1 970 749	2 475 592
Capital works		
Homelands and S.A. Bantu Trust	1 700 609	1 659 595
	7 222 412	8 788 509
Grand Total	81 548 310	101 792 137

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* Figure for actual expenditure not available. The budgeted amount was R11 058 000.

[6] Hansard 11 cols. 757—8.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS

The figures that follow are extracted from the report of the Department of Bantu Education for 1973,[7] and reflect the position as at the first Tuesday in March of that year:

Numbers of schools

Control	*"White" areas in Republic*	*Homelands in Republic*	*South West Africa*	*Totals*
Government or territorial	103	1 849	12	1 964
Community	1 259	3 934	443	5 636
Farm	3 579	—	4	3 583
Mine	85	3	—	88
Factory	20	—	—	20
Hospital	32	18	1	51
Scheduled	26	7	—	33
Special	—	13	1	14
Sub-total	5 104	5 824	461	11 389
Roman Catholic	153	229	{ 32	{434
Other churches and private	9	11		
Night schools and continuation classes	71	26	—	97
Total	5 337	6 090	493	11 920

The types of schools were as given below.[8] (The totals would differ from those listed above for the reason that one school may provide education of two or more types.)

	"White" areas in Republic	*Homelands in Republic*	*South West Africa*
Lower primary	2 002	1 523	243
Higher primary	331	306	30
Combined primary	2 805	3 793	207
Junior secondary	84	281	7
Secondary	43	121	8
Technical secondary	3	2	—
Teacher training	8	28	6
Advanced technical training	1	1	—
Trade training	3	15	4
Vocational training	5	19	1
Theological	1	—	—
Special schools	—	13	1
Night schools	18	19	—
Continuation classes	10	8	—

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 20 September[9] that 4 242 new classrooms were constructed during 1972 from Departmental funds and money donated by the public. Progress has been maintained, but there is still a shortage of many hundreds of classrooms.

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[7] R.P. 75/1974 pages 135 and 208.

[8] *Bantu Education Journal*, March.

[9] Hansard 7 col. 3413.

At least seven further firms have donated the cost of an entire school to the TEACH fund launched by *The Star* in October 1971, and smaller donations from organizations and individuals are acknowledged daily. By mid-August the fund passed the R1 000 000 mark, a further R43 740 being collected during the next two months. By the end of the year 27 schools had been completed (all in Soweto except for one in Dobsonville, Roodepoort), and two schools extended. Work was in progress on eight more. They were mainly primary schools, but the completed schools included five junior secondary schools with libraries, laboratories, woodwork rooms, and domestic science rooms. Accommodation had been provided for teacher-training facilities at the Jabulani School. One of the donors gave money specifically for heaters for schools.

The Argus in Cape Town launched a TEACH fund in 1972, to which approximately R225 000 had been donated by the end of October. About R153 000 of this had been spent on building five schools, extending two others, and assisting with the financing of four Departmental schools.

The LEARN fund of the Durban *Daily News* had collected R175 110, which was spent on building a school and helping 368 existing schools to obtain the books they needed. The Port Elizabeth *Evening Post* had raised just over R29 000, which was being used to build a secondary school. *Grocotts Mail* in Grahamstown started a TEACH fund in August, collecting R10 454 during the next two months.

Similar funds, to provide classrooms or school equipment or books or scholarships, are sponsored by industrialists and private bodies, among the latter being the Natal Educational Association set up by the Indian community to help in KwaZulu. The Bantu Welfare Trust, administered by the Institute of Race Relations, has continued to make donations for the erection of complete schools or of additional classrooms at various centres. Many firms, organizations, and individuals have contributed gifts of equipment.

DOUBLE SESSIONS

Because of the continuing shortage of classrooms, however, many hundreds of would-be pupils have to be turned away each year, especially at the Std. 3 and Form I levels, and double sessions are still necessary at large numbers of the lower primary schools. According to information given by the Minister of Bantu Education,[10] as at the first Tuesday of March 1973 there were 11 095 teachers involved in this system in the Republic as a whole, and 994 743 pupils (representing about 73 per cent of the total numbers in the Sub A and B classes and 7 per cent of those in Stds. I and 2).

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[10] Assembly, 13 February, Hansard 2 col. 78.

At the same date in South West Africa, 1 381 African pupils were involved in the double-session system.

PUPILS

The enrolment of pupils in March 1973 was given in the April issue of the *Bantu Education Journal*. The table below excludes 15 977 who were attending teacher-training courses or technical, vocational or trade courses in the Republic and 817 who were undergoing similar training in South West Africa.

	Republic				*South West Africa*	
	White areas	*Homelands*	*Total*	*Percentage* [11]	*Total*	*Percentage*
Sub A	285 739	443 033	728 772	22,17	37 026	32,06
Sub B	217 847	333 248	551 095	16,77	20 810	18,02
Std. 1	193 736	309 660	503 396	15,32	16 646	14,41
Std. 2	144 910	238 116	383 026	11,65	12 498	10,82
Sub-Total	842 232	1 324 057	2 166 289	65,91	86 980	75,31
Std. 3	118 044	202 562	320 606	9,76	10 108	8,75
Std. 4	91 316	151 184	242 500	7,38	6 716	5,82
Std. 5	74 201	120 384	194 585	5,92	5 170	4,48
Std. 6	69 325	112 130	181 455	5,52	4 260	3,69
Sub-total	352 886	586 260	939 146	28,58	26 254	22,74
Total primary	1 195 118	1 910 317	3 105 435	94,49	113 234	98,05
Form I	24 058	46 653	70 711	2,15	1 059	0,92
Form II	18 403	37 695	56 098	1,71	594	0,51
Form III	12 324	24 851	37 175	1,13	389	0,34
Form IV	3 185	8 159	11 344	0,35	132	0,11
Form V	1 663	4 073	5 736	0,17	80	0,07
Total secondary	59 633	121 431	181 064	5,51	2 254	1,95
Combined total	1 254 751	2 031 748	3 286 499	100,00	115 488	100,00

Calculating from figures given for the Republic, it transpires that 66,59 per cent of the pupils in Forms I to III, and 71,62 per cent of those in Forms IV and V, were in homeland schools.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 20 September [12] that in 1973 an estimated 72 per cent of African children in the 7—15 years age groups were attending school.

But, as the table shows, the drop-out rate continues to be very high. A commission on education appointed by the Transkeian Government released its report early in the year.[13] It found that among the reasons for early dropping out from school were rebelliousness, poor health (including pregnancy among girls), hunger, lack of incentive, and the custom whereby boys attended schools, in turns, helping with ploughing or herding in between.

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[11] Percentages calculated by the writer.

[12] Hansard 7 col. 3405.

[13] *Rand Daily Mail* report, 18 March.

Night study was almost impossible. Many parents had a negative attitude towards education, and many teachers were indifferent.

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

As noted in earlier issues of this *Survey*, the Transkeian Government decided in 1963 that from Std. 4 an official language should gradually be substituted for the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction, the change-over to be completed by Form I. It was left to school committees to decide on the official language to be used: in practice, English was chosen.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 30 August [14] that in April 1973 KwaZulu decided that English should be introduced from Std. 3 as the medium of instruction in schools in its area. The relevant legislation was approved by the central Government in October of that year. Lebowa had passed similar legislation in March 1974, which would shortly be submitted for approval.

During the Council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations in January, Chief Lucas Mangope of BophuthaTswana and Professor Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu said that their governments had made similar decisions.

The arrangements decided upon for schools in "White" areas were described on page 302 of last year's *Survey*. Briefly, the change to English and/or Afrikaans as the medium of instruction will from 1975 take place in Std. 5.

TEXTBOOKS AND LIBRARIES

The homeland governments make their own decisions in regard to the supply of free textbooks to schools in their areas and the position may, thus, vary.

It was decided some years ago that in the rest of the country (where education is controlled by the central Department of Bantu Education) newly established primary schools should receive an initial free allocation of one reader per pupil in English, Afrikaans, and the appropriate Bantu language. Thereafter, one new book in each language would be provided annually per three pupils in the sub-standards, and per four pupils in Stds. 1 to 6 inclusive.

During 1974 the Department began a 3-year programme [15] with the target of supplying all pupils from Std. 1 to Form V with free textbooks (but not, within this period, with free copies of prescribed books in the languages nor with free stationery).

As a first step in higher primary schools, limited numbers of graded text books were issued during 1974, the provision being about one book per two or per three pupils. Most of the textbooks needed in Forms I, III and IV were supplied. (The issue was delayed until 1975 in respect of Form II pupils because of a change in syllabus. Form V was omitted because in most cases the books bought by Form IV pupils in 1973 covered two years' study.)

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[14] Hansard 4 col. 261.

[15] Information given in the issue of the *Bantu Education Journal* for April, in the Assembly on 20 September by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Hansard 7 col. 3410; and in a *Rand Daily Mail* report, 19 February.

The Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 20 August [16] that the official expenditure on books for school pupils (including those in the homelands) in 1973—4 had been R1 981 288. The expenditure on library books for schools had been R175 671.

With Departmental assistance, the Institute of Race Relations has compiled a list of about 250 library books that are especially recommended for secondary school libraries, hoping to interest members of the public in donating these books.

EXAMINATION RESULTS

According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education,[1] the Std. 6 results in the Republic (including the homelands) and in South West Africa in November 1973 were:

	Wrote examination	*Passed*
Republic	161 779	134 377
South West Africa	4 081	2 817

Of those who passed, 78 677 in the Republic and 1 327 in South West Africa qualified to proceed to Form I.

The Department of Bantu Education has kindly furnished information about the Junior Certificate results and the Matriculation and Senior Certificate results in November 1973, as follows:

Junior Certificate	*Republic*		*South West Africa*	
	No.	*Percentage*	*No.*	*Percentage*
Number of candidates	34 878	—	353	—
Passed with distinction	193	0,6	4	1,1
Passed first class	3 743	10,7	88	25,0
Passed second class	13 997	40,1	170	48,1
Passed third class	9 461	27,1	60	17,0
Total passes	27 394	78,5	322	91,2

Matriculation or Senior Certificate	*No.*	*Percentage*	*No.*	*Percentage*
Number of candidates	5 412	—	80	—
Matriculation pass:				
1st class	98	1,81	3	3,75
2nd and 3rd classes	1 762	32,56	36	45,00
Senior Certificate pass				
1st class	1	0,02	—	—
2nd and 3rd classes	1 315	24,30	11	13,75
Total passes	3 176	58,69	50	62,50

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[16] Hansard 3 col. 137.

[1] Assembly, 17 September, Hansard 7 cols. 470—1.

The Education Information Centre (with headquarters at the offices of the Institute of Race Relations) and the Turret Correspondence College jointly ran a winter school for Black matriculation pupils during the July vacation. It was attended by 867 African, Indian, and Coloured students, mainly from Johannesburg, but some having come from widely dispersed schools elsewhere.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

According to the Department's budget for 1974—5,[2] the following special schools exist for handicapped African children:

2 schools for blind children
1 school for blind and deaf children
1 school for deaf blind and deaf mute children
4 schools for deaf children
3 schools for crippled children
2 schools for cerebral palsied children
1 school for mentally retarded children.

According to the Departmental report for 1973,[3] 1 684 pupils were attending special schools in March of that year.

A team of workers from the University of Cape Town ran a six-month experimental compensatory education programme for African children living in depressed circumstances in Guguletu township near Cape Town. It was reported that the mental ages of the children increased by an average of 1,33 years.[4]

TEACHERS

Replying to a question in the Assembly on 13 August,[5] the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said that the following numbers of Africans were serving in senior educational capacities in the Republic as a whole:

101 as inspectors of schools;
336 as assistant or subject inspectors;
6 as professors;
91 as lecturers;
11 326 as school principals;
314 in other senior capacities.

The following numbers of teachers were employed in March 1973:[6]

	"White" areas of Republic	*Homelands in Republic*	*Total in Republic*	*South West Africa*
Africans	22 863	34 570	57 433	2 522
Coloured . . .	32	15	47	—
Whites[7]	248	592	839	140

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[2] Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account, R.P. 2/1974, Vote 16.
[3] R.P. 75/1974, page 119.
[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 July.
[5] Hansard 2 col. 61.
[6] Compiled from Departmental report *op cit*, pages 148, 152, 213; *Bantu Education Journal*, May; and information given by the Deputy Minister, Assembly 13 August, Hansard 2 col. 62.
[7] There is an error of 1 in one or other of the first two figures, as given in the *Journal*.

Of these teachers, the following numbers were being privately paid:

	Republic	*South West Africa*
Africans	5 068	60
Whites	184	19

The proportion of teachers who have to be paid privately has decreased very significantly in recent years.

Questioned about the qualifications of African teachers in the Republic, the Minister gave the information that follows, as at the first Tuesday of March 1973:[8]

	Number	*Percentage*[9]
Professionally qualified and with:		
A university degree	933	1,62
Matriculation or equivalent	6 018	10,47
Junior Certificate or equivalent	26 586	46,25
Std. 6	14 299	24,88
Other qualifications (e.g. technical)	225	0,39
No professional qualifications but with:		
A university degree	39	0,07
Matriculation or equivalent	313	0,54
Technical or other vocational qualifications	117	0,20
Not matriculated and with no technical or other qualifications	8 950	15,57
Totals[10]	57 480	99,99

As from 1 April, the salaries of African teachers were increased and re-structured. The revised scales were published in the June issue of the *Bantu Educational Journal*. A few extracts are given here: the 17½ per cent pensionable allowance granted in 1973 has been added.

Principal of a secondary school with more than 600 pupils:
M—R4 089 rising to R5 288; F—R3 525 rising to R4 759
Professionally qualified teacher with a university degree:
M—R2 115 rising to R3 525; F—R1 904 rising to R3 102
Professionally qualified teacher with a Junior Certificate:
M—R1 163 rising to R2 538; F—R987 rising to R1 798
Unqualified teacher with a Junior Certificate:
M—R987; F—R917.

As from 1 January, African teachers were granted the same leave privileges as White teachers receive.

STUDENT TEACHERS

The following information was given by the Deputy Minister in the Assembly on 13 August:[11]

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[8] Assembly, 16 August, Hansard 2 col. 98.
[9] Calculated by the writer.
[10] Including the 47 Coloured teachers.
[11] Hansard 2 cols. 59—60.

Course of training	*No. of Students enrolled in March 1973*		*Qualified end 1973 or in supplementary examination*
	Republic	*South West Africa*	
Lower Primary Teachers' Course	—	396	145
Primary Teachers' Course	10 379	67	4 324
Junior Secondary Teachers' Course	668	—	318
Secondary Teachers' Diploma Course	422	—	113
University Education Diploma (non-graduate)	34	—	7
Post-degree University Education Diploma	93	—	92
Special courses in Art or Homecraft	74	—	68
Trade Instructors' Course	16	—	9
Diploma in Special Education			
for the deaf	25	—	23
for the blind	13	—	11
Diploma in Fine Arts	4	—	—

According to the *Bantu Education Journal* for June, all of the student teachers in the Republic were attending institutions in the homelands with the exception only of 1 275 taking the Primary Teachers' Course and 42 taking special courses in Art or Homecraft.

ADULT EDUCATION

It is stated in the Departmental report for 1973 [12] that in March of that year there were 80 registered night schools or continuation classes with an enrolment of 3 319 lower primary, 2 455 higher primary, and 1 960 post-primary students.

An Evaluative Literacy Seminar was held at the headquarters of the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg during May, organized by Sue Gordon of the Institute's Domestic Workers' and Employers' Project, and led by Angela Norman. The various methods used by the Bureau of Literacy and Literature, Operation Upgrade, the Dialogue Method, and English Through Activity (which has further developed into Communication in Industry) were explained and discussed. Thereafter, a catalogue was issued of the services provided by these organizations.

The Bureau of Literacy and Literature has its headquarters in Johannesburg, with a regional office in Windhoek. It trains persons to become literacy teachers in English, Afrikaans, seven African languages of the Republic, five of South West Africa, one of Malawi, and one of Mozambique. The Bureau also trains literacy instructors who are competent to train literacy teachers. It has produced primers in each of the languages for use by pupils. According to *EcuNews Bulletin* of 13 May, during 1973 the Bureau trained 576 new literacy teachers. The teachers it had trained were, that year, involved in literacy classes for almost 14 000 adults, the classes being held on the mines or at factories, organized by churches, or held in prisons. The Bureau holds workshops for writers with the object of producing basic literature for new literates.

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[12] *Op cit*, page 79

Operation Upgrade of Southern Africa, which orginated in Durban, uses the Laubach system. It trains tutors to teach illiterates, either singly, according to the each-one-teach-one method, or in small groups. The organization has a supporting programme of producing graded basic readers for new literates dealing with a variety of practical themes, religion, etc. Its tutors are at work in KwaZulu, BophuthaTswana, the Ciskei, Soweto, and other places.

The Dialogue Method originated in Brazil and is being tried out in Botswana. It aims at involving whole communities, who come together to discuss questions of local interest and relevance, then learn to read and write the key words used in the discussions as an introduction to full literacy.

English Through Activity and Communication in Industry, based in Pietermaritzburg, trains people to speak and read this language through acting out situations. It is now at work in several centres in the Republic and in Swaziland.

Many other voluntary classes are run which are not included in official figures. There is, for example, a Home Education Scheme in Soweto. Trained teachers offer their services voluntarily to teach adults in the early evenings, concentrating mainly on post-primary work. The scheme has been of great help, too, to students who have failed the J.C. or have obtained third class passes, and who want to repeat the class to qualify for further formal education.[13]

DISTURBANCES AT SCHOOLS

Disturbances have been reported during the year at St. Francis College at Mariannhill, Natal, at the Moroka High School at Thaba'Nchu, and at various schools in the Transkei—five primary schools in the Tabankulu district, the Sibi Secondary School at Matatiele, the Ndamase High School, Buntingville College, and the Mfundisweni High School near Flagstaff. In most cases the police were called and the pupils then sent home, being told to reapply for admission.

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[13] *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 March

SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR COLOURED PUPILS

FINANCE

The budget of the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs includes items of expenditure on education (certain administrative expenses at head office are, apparently, not included). Figures for the year ending 31 March 1975 are:[1]

	R
Salaries of educational personnel at head office	53 900
Salaries of 1 292 educational personnel seconded to the Coloured Representative Council	6 475 000
Agricultural training	15 500
University of the Western Cape	2 637 000
	9 181 400
Add expenditure from the South West Africa Account	2 744 424
	11 925 824

From its Loan Vote,[2] the Public Works Department planned to spend R13 688 150 during 1974—5 on various educational buildings on behalf of the Department of Coloured Relations.

In the main, education for Coloured pupils is financed from the budget of the Coloured Representative Council. Parliament voted R130 830 000 to the CRC in 1974—5 for all the services it controls. A short session of the Council was held during November to consider its budget.

GRADUAL INTRODUCTION OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION

The gradual introduction of compulsory education for Coloured pupils was described on page 310 of last year's *Survey*. Although the school building programme continues there is still an acute shortage of classrooms in the larger centres, which caused difficulties at the beginning of 1974 when all seven-year-olds were required to attend school if they lived near enough to a school building for this to be feasible.

DOUBLE SESSIONS

In the Assembly on 6 September[1] the Minister of Coloured Relations gave the following statistics relating to the double session system:

Standards	*No. of classes where system was operating*	*No. of pupils involved*
Sub-standards	1 468	52 549
Stds. 1 and 2	459	18 431
Stds. 3 and 4	40	1 287

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[1] Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account, R.P. 2/1974, Vote 39, and R.P. 4/1974, Vote 22.

[2] Estimates of Expenditure from Loan Account, R.P. 3/1974, Loan Vote B.

[1] Hansard 5 col. 371.

The number of pupils involved was 11 169 higher than during the previous year.

PUPILS

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 27 August,[2] the Minister gave figures indicating the enrolment of Coloured pupils, presumably in March of that year:

	Republic		*South West Africa*	
Class	*No.*	*Percentage*	*No.*	*Percentage*
Sub A	111 027	17,88	1 556	16,49
Sub B	96 012	15,46	1 350	14,30
Std. 1	87 040	14,02	1 247	13,21
Std. 2	74 852	12,05	1 125	11,92
Std. 3	65 598	10,56	1 013	10,73
Std. 4	55 978	9,02	919	9,74
Std. 5	43 407	6,99	772	8,18
Total primary	533 914	85,98	7 982	84,57
Std. 6	34 432	5,55	626	6,63
Std. 7	24 972	4,02	431	4,57
Std. 8	15 453	2,49	262	2,78
Std. 9	6 434	1,04	99	1,05
Std. 10	3 264	0,53	38	0,40
Total secondary	84 555	13,63	1 456	15,43
Adaptation classes	2 477	0,39	—	—
Combined totals	620 946	100,00	9 438	100,00

EXAMINATION RESULTS

The information that follows was given in the Assembly on 27 August by the Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs,[3] relating to the results of examinations conducted at the end of 1973 and, where appropriate, supplementary examinations held early in 1974:

	Republic		*South West Africa*	
Junior Certificate	*Number*	*Percentage*	*Number*	*Percentage*
No. of candidates	12 995	—	432	—
Passed 1st class	670	5,2	23	5,3
Passed 2nd class	7 658	58,9	277	64,1
Total passed	8 328	64,1	300	69,4
Matriculation or Senior Certificate				
No. of candidates	5 026	—	101	—
Passed 1st class	107	2,1	1	1,0
Passed 2nd class	2 026	40,3	50	49,5
Total passed	2 133	42,4	51	50,5
Obtained matriculation exemption	859	17,1	26	25,7

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[2] Hansard 4 col. 214.

[3] Hansard 4 col. 213.

TEACHERS

The Minister of Coloured Relations said in the Assembly on 1 October [4] that 19 346 Coloured and 912 White teachers were employed in schools for Coloured pupils. There were 2 060 without teaching qualifications. No details were given.

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 9 August [5] the Minister of Coloured Relations said that revised salary scales for teachers had been decided upon, but as final details were still being worked out it was not possible for him to furnish information about these scales.

ADULT EDUCATION

On 13 August the Minister said in the Assembly [1] that 3 440 Coloured adults were attending part-time academic primary classes, and 5 794 were enrolled in secondary classes.

SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR INDIANS

FINANCE

The Indian Affairs Vote in the Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for the year ending 31 March 1975 [1] contains information about proposed expenditure on education, apparently excluding certain administrative expenses at head office:

	R
Salaries: Division of Education	727 600
Salaries: Primary and high schools	18 984 200
Salaries: Training of teachers	569 800
Administration of schools and adult education	3 516 000
Administration of teacher-training	334 000
Financial assistance: declared institutions and courses for education at technical colleges	1 072 000
Financial assistance: vocational and special schools	168 000
Financial assistance: M.L. Sultan Technical College	555 000
Financial assistance: school for the blind	156 000
University of Durban-Westville	4 970 000[2]
Miscellaneous	1 300
	31 053 900

According to the Estimates of Expenditure from Loan Account,[3] the Public Works Department planned to spend R3 022 800 in the 1974—5 financial year on various educational buildings for Indians.

The Minister of Indian Affairs said in the Assembly on 12 August [4] that his department was spending approximately R900 000 a year on providing free textbooks to pupils.

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[4] Hansard 9 col. 616.
[5] Hansard 1 Question col. 32.
[1] Hansard 2 col. 63.
[1] R.P. 2/1974 Vote 42.
[2] About R478 550 recoverable in fees.
[3] R.P. 3/1974 Vote B.
[4] Hansard 2 col. 38.

SCHOOLS

According to the report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the year ended 30 June 1973[5] the numbers of schools for Indians in 1973 were:

71 high schools
297 primary schools
1 school for the blind
1 school for the deaf
1 school of industries
2 private schools
3 nursery schools.

The Minister said in the Assembly on 23 August[6] that the high schools in Pietermaritzburg and Stanger offered technical subjects as part of the course of study leading to the Department's Senior Certificate examination. From 1975 technical courses would be available, too, at the high school in Lenasia, Johannesburg. There were 14 high schools in Natal and 2 in the Transvaal that offered commercial subjects as part of the Senior Certificate course.

PLATOON SYSTEM

The platoon system is still necessary at some schools, with one group of pupils attending in the mornings and another in the afternoons. Questioned about this in the Assembly on 13 August,[7] the Minister said that the number of classes and pupils involved was:

	Classes	*Pupils*
Sub-standards	199	6 756
Stds. 1 and 2	169	6 328
Stds. 3 and 4	47	1 617
Stds. 5 and 6	2	53

PUPILS

The Minister said[8] that the enrolment of pupils on 5 March 1974 was as follows:

	No.	*Percentage*
Class 1	20 816	11,52
Class 2	21 687	12,00
Std. 1	19 578	10,83
Std. 2	18 393	10,18
Std. 3	19 074	10,56
Std. 4	16 387	9,07
Std. 5	13 390	7,41
Total primary	129 325	71,57

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[5] R.P. 48/1974 page 51.
[6] Hansard 3 col. 184.
[7] Hansard 2 col. 59.
[8] Assembly, 23 August, Hansard 3 col. 183. Percentages calculated by the writer

Std. 6	12 584	6,96
Std. 7	15 091	8,35
Std. 8	10 995	6,08
Std. 9	7 344	4,06
Std. 10	4 420	2,45
Total secondary	50 434	27,90
Special classes	956	0,53
Combined total	180 715	100,00

The progressive introduction of compulsory education was described on page 315 of last year's *Survey*.

EXAMINATION RESULTS

The Minister gave the statistics that follow in the Assembly on 23 August,[9] relating to examinations conducted at the end of 1973 and supplementary examinations:

Standard 6	*No.*	*Percentage*
No. of candidates	15 646	—
Passed normal high school course	9 096	58,1
Passed practical course	5 602	35,8
Total passed	14 698	93,9
Junior Certificate		
No. of candidates	9 025	—
Passed A level	6 799	75,3
Passed O level	379	4,2
Passed C level	955	10,6
Total passed	8 133	90,1
Matriculation or Senior Certificate		
No. of candidates	3 955	—
Passed with merit	80	2,0
Passed A grade without merit but with matriculation exemption	511	12,9
Passed A level without exemption	783	19,8
Passed O level	1 512	38,2
Total passed	2 886	72,9

TEACHERS

On 20 August [10] the Minister gave information about senior educational posts held by Indians:

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[9] Hansard 3 col. 183. Percentages calculated by the writer.

[10] Assembly Hansard 3 cols. 149—50

Inspectors of schools	10
Subject inspectors	5
Education Planner and Assistant Planners	6
Director of Development at University	1
Professors	5
Heads of departments at colleges	7
Senior lecturers	27
Lecturers	71
Junior lecturers	14
School guidance officer	1
Principals	354
Deputy and Vice Principals	441
Senior assistant teachers	795

The Minister said [11] that as at 30 June 1974 the qualifications of Indian teachers were as follows:

Professionally qualified and with:	*No*	*Percentage*
A university degree	1 103	16,62
Matriculation or equivalent	4 379	65,97
Junior Certificate or equivalent	903	13,60
No professional qualifications but with:		
A university degree	22	0,33
Matriculation or equivalent	124	1,87
Technical or vocational qualifications	4	0,06
Not matriculated and with no technical or other qualifications	103	1,55
	6 638	100,00

In 1972 and 1973 the Springfield College of Education, Durban, held four workshops for primary school teachers on the use of audio-visual aids. During 1974 a similar course was held for secondary teachers, and a clinic for gymnastic coaches.[12]

Salary scales for teachers have been revised, but details of the new scales have not been published.

STUDENT TEACHERS

On 20 August [13] the Minister said that there were 584 Indian stu[illegible]eachers enrolled at the Springfield College, Natal, and at the [illegible]svaal College of Education. There were 320 in training at the University of Durban-Westville. The following teachers qualified at the end of 1973:

214 as primary and lower secondary school teachers;
31 as academic high school teachers;
15 as specialist teachers of commercial subjects;

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[11] Assembly, 15 August, Hansard 2 col. 79. Percentages calculated by the writer.
[12] *Fiat Lux*, May.
[13] Assembly Hansard 3 cols. 148–9.

12 as teachers of technical subjects;
8 in remedial or special education;
23 as teachers of art;
9 as physical education instructors;
5 as teachers of home economics.

ADULT EDUCATION

The Minister stated on 23 August [14] that 535 Indian adults were attending part-time academic secondary classes. There were no primary part-time classes.

SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR WHITE PUPILS

PUPILS AND TEACHERS

The latest available statistics in regard to White pupils and teachers are those for 1972, as given on page 320 of last year's *Survey*.

New salary structures for teachers, with general increases in pay, were introduced as from 1 July. No official information about the new scales has been published.

The Transvaal Teachers' Association is the first White body to have accepted an invitation to become affiliated to the S.A. Federation of Teachers' Associations, which until then had Coloured and Indian members only.

STUDENT TEACHERS

Replying to questions in the Assembly on 6 September,[1] the Minister of National Education said that during 1973, 1 395 White women and 479 men qualified at universities as teachers. Of these, 758 women and 288 men were graduates, and of the graduates, 101 women and 59 men took as majors one or more of the subjects mathematics, physics, and chemistry.

The numbers of students enrolled at universities for teachers' courses in 1974 were:

	Men.	*Women*
Post-graduate courses	1 053	2 079
Non-graduate courses	1 203	2 738
	2 256	4 817

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[14] Assembly Hansard 3 col. 182
[1] Hansard 5 cols. 308, 368

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

AFRICANS

DE SCHOOLS

In 1973 there were twelve trade schools and six trade sections
ched to other schools in the Republic that catered for
icans. In S.W.A. there were five schools with trade sections.
The duration of most of the courses is 2 years after Std. 6. The
rses for motor mechanics, watch-makers, and electricians (full-
e), however, take 3 years after J.C., and there is an in-service
:k course for electricians which takes 5 years post-J.C.
According to the October issue of the *Bantu Education Journal*
the Departmental Report for 1973 [1], during 1973 there were
27 students in the Republic attending trade schools, 315 of
n in "White" areas and the rest in the homelands. Another
students were taking trade courses in S.W.A.[2]) The enrolment
the Republic and the passes at the end of 1973 and in
plementary examinations were as follows:

Course	*No. of students*	*Passes 1973*
eral mechanics	187	56
creting, bricklaying, plastering	675	244
tricians and wiremen	40	5
tricians, block training	221	—
ch-makers	45	12
oring	192	56
herwork	123	73
herwork and upholstery	16	
nbing, drainlaying, sheet metal work	363	123
or body repairs	136	45
or mechanics	230	87
eral and motor mechanics	249	
olstery and motor trimming	93	41
pentry, joinery, cabinet making	620	225
ting and glazing	37	33
	3 227	1 000

The Department of Bantu Education informed the Institute
Race Relations that during 1973 there were 333 pupils enrolled
.W.A.
Electricians who have completed the 5-year course take trade
s immediately. Most of the rest need further in-service training

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plement to *Bantu*, March

before they take the trade tests, which are conducted by the Department of Bantu Education. It is planned to establish at least one trade testing centre in each homeland, and others in prisons.

Apprenticeships may be served in the homelands only.

TECHNICAL SECONDARY COURSES

There are five technical secondary schools, at Mamelodi (Pretoria), Jabulani (Johannesburg), Edendale (near Pietermaritzburg), Umlazi (Durban), and Kwazakele (Port Elizabeth) at which boys may take a technical subject as part of the J.C. and S.C. courses. According to the Minister of Bantu Education [3], further such schools in the Ciskei and at Umtata have been approved, and five more are planned for other homelands.

Enrolment in 1973 in the technical subjects available was:[4]

Course	*No. of students*
Building construction	64
Electricians	14
Machine drawing	24
Motor mechanics	21
Woodwork	117
Building drawing	21
General mechanics	176
Applied mechanics	114
	551

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Education said in the Assembly on 9 August [5] that, at the end of 1973, 64 boys qualified for the technical J.C. and 7 for the technical S.C.

COMMERCIAL SECONDARY COURSES

On the same occasion the Deputy Minister said that there were 55 schools in the Republic at which a commercial J.C. or S.C. could be taken (including two or more commercial subjects in the curriculum). During 1973, 1 024 students obtained a commercial J.C., while 149 boys and 53 girls qualified for a commercial S.C.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR GIRLS

Questioned about vocational training for African girls, the Deputy Minister gave the following information:[6]

[3] Assembly, 22 February, Hansard 3 cols. 143—4.
[4] *Bantu Education Journal*, October.
[5] Hansard 1 Question cols. 27—8.
[6] Cols. 23—4.

	No. of schools providing the course	*No. of girls passing during 1973*
Dressmaking (2-year course)	9	95
Dressmaking (4 short courses a year)	9	192
Assistants for pre-school institutions	3	54
Home management	3	31
Seamstresses and clothing menders	1	11
Spinning and weaving	2	Not known (Course taken at private schools)

ADVANCED TECHNICAL COURSES

There are technical colleges at Mmadikoti near Pietersburg and Edendale near Pietermaritzburg. The courses available (not all are provided at both colleges) are as follows:

(a) Civil engineering technicians and agricultural engineering technicians take a four-year course after S.C., of a general nature during the first two years, then specializing. 58 students were enrolled in 1973.[7]

(b) Surveying technicians and land surveyors do a four-year post-S.C. course, 45 were enrolled in 1973.

(c) Geological (mining) technicians do a three-year post-S.C. course. 21 were enrolled in 1973.

(d) Water and sewage purification operators take a one-year post-J.C. course, the enrolment in 1973 being 20.

(e) Maintenance workers for water purification installations do a half-year post-J.C. course. In 1973 there were 16 students enrolled.

As most of these courses are of recent introduction, not many students have yet qualified. Passes during 1973 were:

Civil engineering technicians	9
Surveying technicians	5
Water and sewage purification operators	17
Maintenance workers for water purification	13

In 1973, one African was studying electrotechnical engineering, and two were training as mechanical engineers.

A third technical college, at Umtata, has started a course for telephone electricians.[8]

Para-medical courses are described in the chapter on Health.

TRADE INSTRUCTORS

Trade instructors for schools are trained at the Boi[illegible]nape Trade School near Mafeking, taking a two-year course, generally after completing a technical J.C. According to the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education,[9] 16 were attending the course in 1974, and 9 qualified at the end of the previous year.

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[7] The enrolment and pass figures were given by the Minister of Bantu Education, Assembly 22 February, Hansard 5 cols. 143—4.

[8] *Bantu* March [illegible]

B.I.C. TRAINING BUREAU

The Bantu Investment Corporation runs a training bureau at Temba, to the north of Pretoria. Courses are conducted for persons needed in its own service, for example guidance officers, training officials, and personnel managers, and there are further courses for Africans who will be employed in B.I.C.-sponsored or assisted projects, in commerce, book-keeping, liquor trade management, the driving of vehicles, and motor mechanics.[10]

TRAINING OF FACTORY OPERATIVES

According to information kindly supplied by the Department of Bantu Education, a scheme was instituted some ten years ago for giving initial practical training to factory operatives who are to be employed in border industrial areas. The industrialist is required to provide the training centre, training equipment, and instructors, while the Department provides classroom equipment, subsidizes the salaries of the training staff, and undertakes the testing and certification of the workers. The industrialist selects the trainees: no rigid scholastic qualification has been set, but the possession of a Std. 6 certificate is in general deemed desirable. During their training the employer pays the workers a wage decided upon in conjunction with the Department.

One of the first of these centres, established in 1964, was at Mdantsane, near East London, to provide initial training for weavers, spinners, and winders for a textile factory. Similar schemes have subsequently been introduced at 16 centres to serve border industry firms manufacturing clothing, textiles, aluminium, batteries, hosiery and knitwear, tyres, sweets, flooring tiles, electric cables, and beauty preparations. During 1973, 2 098 operatives were trained, the courses being of about 13 weeks' duration.

In addition to this scheme, schools are being established to offer general pre-employment training for industrial workers to be employed in border industries or selected growth-points in the homelands. The first three of these were at Babelegi (to the north of Pretoria), Isithebe (KwaZulu), and Mdantsane. Others are planned for Ezakhene (Ladysmith), Tlhabane (Brits/Rustenburg), Seshego (Pietersburg), and Enseleni (Richards Bay). Courses that have been found to satisfy common needs are arc and gas-welding, woodwork and machining, plumbing and sheetmetal work, and bricklaying. The schools run four crash courses a year, each of ten weeks' duration, and catering for ten pupils per course.

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[9] Assembly, 9 August, Hansard 1 Question col. 23.

[10] *Homelands: The Role of the Corporation*, Chris van Rensburg Publications (Pty) Ltd., 1973.

DEPARTMENTAL INDUSTRIAL MANUAL TRAINING CENTRES IN AFRICAN URBAN RESIDENTIAL AREAS

It was mentioned on page 327 of last year's *Survey* that the Department was planning to establish, initially, eight industrial manual training centres in African urban residential areas Three of these, two at dispersed points in Soweto and the third at Sebokeng, Vereeniging, are likely to be in use by the beginning of 1975, and it is planned that during the 1974—5 financial year further centres will be built at Mamelodi (Pretoria), Germiston, Port Elizabeth, Durban, and Pietermaritzburg.

During the day, boys from Std. 5 and Form I classes in surrounding schools will attend the centres to study various trades for at least an hour a week. Basic training will be available in such subjects as woodwork, metalwork, welding, plastics, mechanical practice, building practice, electrical practice, and punch-card and computer operating.

At the beginning of their Form II year, pupils may elect to follow a practical J.C. course. Those doing so will choose one or two of these practical subjects to study together with academic subjects, attending the industrial training centre for about four hours per technical subject per week.

Adult factory workers will be offered after-hours training at the centres, especially in vocational orientation, languages, and arithmetic, or in any of the subjects mentioned earlier.

PRIVATE INDUSTRIAL TRAINING CENTRES

Mention was made last year, too, of the Department's plan to establish eight industrial training centres in industrial complexes to serve industrialists with common training needs. The sites will be made available by local authorities or the employers. The Department will build and equip the centres, but the industrialists will have to pay the running costs.

Basic scholastic training will be provided, together with courses at semi-skilled and operative levels in subjects such as motor and machine maintenance and service, fork-lift operation, machine dismantling, sewing machine operation, basic mechanical practice, woodwork and machining, finishing, spray-painting and polishing, basic electrical work, laboratory practice, and punch-card and computer operation.

In terms of the Income Tax Act of 1974, employers who undertake or participate in training schemes for Africans which have been approved and registered by the Department of Bantu Education will be allowed, for tax purposes, to deduct from their profits the amounts they have spent on these schemes (excluding capital expenditure). If the scheme is situated in an economic development area, the Minister of Finance may allow a deduction of up to 125 per cent of the training expenses. These concessions will be in addition to the previous deductions allowed for training costs in respect of Black labour (100 per cent).

According to the Minister of Bantu Education [1], the first of these training centres was under construction in Bloemfontein during 1974. Further centres will be sited in Pretoria, Benoni, Krugersdorp, Vereeniging, Durban/Pinetown, and Port Elizabeth. The eighth centre will be allocated to the agricultural sector: a site has not yet been decided upon.

Employers' organizations have been considering the financing of the schemes—whether a levy should be imposed on employers, or fees charged for the courses. Syllabuses will then have to be worked out in consultation with the Department, which will advise on training methods.

Individual industrialists who conduct their own in-service training schemes will have to have these approved and registered by the Department in order to qualify for tax concessions. It was reported in August [2] that 70 companies had thus far applied for schemes to be registered.

COLOURED

TECHNICALLY-ORIENTATED HIGH SCHOOL COURSES

Replying to one of a series of questions in the Assembly on 22 August [3], the Minister of Coloured Relations said that, during 1973, 93 Coloured students passed a technical J.C., and 18 a technical S.C., at multi-lateral high schools.

TRAINEES AT VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

In terms of Government Notice R1161 of 5 July, the regulations under the Coloured Persons' Education Act were amended to provide for "trainees". These are post-J.C. students, between 16 and 21 years of age, who enrol at a vocational school for a three-year technical course. They must serve a probationary period of three months, during which their training may be terminated if they make poor progress. During the course they are paid at a rate not exceeding R16 a week, and receive free overalls. Those who pass a trade test at the end of the course must undertake to serve in S.A. in the trade they learned for at least two years. They are given a free kit of tools.

PENINSULA TECHNICAL COLLEGE AND CONTINUATION CLASSES

The Minister said on 22 August that 196 full-time and 171 part-time Coloured students were attending the Peninsula Technical College. Besides these, during the first and second periods of 1974 a total of 369 other students (including 323 apprentices) attended full-time group training courses, each lasting ten weeks.

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[1] Assembly, 24 September, Hansard 8 col. 564.

[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 August.

[3] Hansard 3 cols. 159–60.

At other centres in the Republic, 2 762 Coloured apprentices attended Departmental or continuation classes.

National Technical Certificate passes during 1973 were:

N.T.C. I—784
N.T.C. II—696
N.T.C. III—284

Students who passed other courses available at the Peninsula Technical College were:

Preliminary Printer's Certificate	26
Diploma in Public Health	12
National Secretarial Certificate	3
National Certificate for Technicians part I	28
National Certificate for Technicians part II	29
Building Foreman (2nd year of a 3-year course)	43
National Diploma in Public Administration (2nd year of a 3-year course)	3
National Diploma in State Financial Accounts (3rd year of a 3-year course)	2
Teachers' Diploma (Commerce)	12
Teachers' Diploma (Technical)	7

SEAMEN

There is a Training Centre for Seamen fairly near to the Technical College. According to the report of the Administration of Coloured Affairs for the year ended 31 March 1973[2], the following numbers passed in 1972:

Skipper (over 100 tons)	11
Skipper (under 100 tons)	15
Mate (over 100 tons)	8
Mate (under 100 tons)	26
Boatswain	15
Engine-room staff	33

CATERING

The Bonne Esperance Secondary School in the same locality offers catering subjects as part of a J.C. course. The Minister said[3] that 24 passed in 1973.

The Hotel Board of S.A. offers other courses in catering: no statistics are available.

INDIANS

VOCATIONALLY-ORIENTATED HIGH SCHOOL COURSES

In replying to a series of questions in the Assembly on 9 August[4], the Minister of Indian Affairs said that no technical or commercial classes as such are offered at departmental schools, but under the system of differential education pupils could include technical or commercial subjects in their courses of study for the J.C. or S.C. At the end of 1973, 5 students obtained a commercially-orientated S.C., and 87 a technically-orientated J.C.

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[2] R.P. 40/1974 page 5.
[3] Assembly, 22 February, Hansard 3 col. 142.
[4] Hansard 1 Question cols. 26—7.

NATIONAL TECHNICAL CERTIFICATE

During 1973, the Minister continued, the following numbers of Indians completed N.T.C. examinations:

N.T.C. I—262.
N.T.C. II—130.
N.T.C. III—56.

M. L. SULTAN TECHNICAL COLLEGE

According to the Registrar of the M.L. Sultan Technical College for Advanced Technical Education,[5] the enrolment figures at this College as at 1 June were:

Full-time pre-matriculation students		
Division of Commerce	66	
Division of Home Economics	63	
Division of Catering	234	
Division of Technical High School	439	802
Apprentices		511
Full-time post-senior students		
Division of Commerce	233	
Division of Home Economics	70	
Division of Technology	188	491
Other students		4 541
		6 345

The "other students" include those attending part-time evening classes. Until 1974 the College trained teachers in various specialist lines, but this work has been taken over by the Department of Indian Affairs or the University of Durban-Westville.

New courses have recently been introduced at the College for electronic and television technicians, telecommunications technicians, and in consulting room practice.[6]

According to the May issue of *Fiat Lux*, the following were among the diplomas and certificates awarded at the Technical College on 6 April:

National Diploma in Commerce	8
National Diploma in Public Administration	7
National Diploma in Community Health Nursing	7
National Diploma in Art and Dress Designing	6
National Diploma in Health Education	8
National Diploma for Health Inspectors	5

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[5] Letter R/192 of 25 July.

[6] *Fiat Lux*, March.

National Secretarial Certificate	7
National Technical Diploma	3
National Certificate for Orthopaedic Technicians	7
Chartered Institute of Secretaries (Intermediate)	9
Chartered Institute of Secretaries (Final, Part I)	3
Chartered Institute of Secretaries (Final, Part II)	2
Diploma in Laboratory Technique (Intermediate)	9
Education Diploma in Physical Education	9
Education Diploma in Industrial Arts	4
Education Diploma in Home Economics	7
Education Diploma in Commerce	19

WHITES

ENROLMENT AT COLLEGES AND INSTITUTES

The information that follows has been extracted from the Report of the Department of National Education for 1973 [1], and refers to the previous year. There were then 6 colleges providing advanced technical education for Whites, 26 technical colleges, 33 technical institutes, 3 colleges training teachers in home economics, nursery school work, etc., and a college for art.

The enrolment in 1972 (full-time and part-time) was:

	M	*F*	*Total*
Technical:			
Teacher training	150	2	152
Sandwich courses and technicians	7 351	1 109	8 460
Apprentices	20 029	801	20 830
Other technical courses	7 491	243	7 734
Commerce and secretarial:			
Teacher training	108	217	325
Other	7 066	5 689	12 755
Home economics	—	395	395
Art	415	708	1 123
Nursery school training	—	143	143
Music	479	1 228	1 707
Other courses	1 400	1 260	2 660
Adult education	8 695	20 444	29 139
	53 184	32 239	85 423

DIPLOMAS AND CERTIFICATES AWARDED

During the period 1 Nov. 1972 to 31 October 1973, 9 482 students were awarded Std. 10 certificates (including 803 with matriculation exemption).

Those awarded certificates for post-Std. 10 training were:

Commerce, para-medical, and general:	
National diploma	1 994
National certificate	225
Technicians:	
Higher national diploma	10
National diploma	514
National certificate	438

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[1] R P 54/1974 Pages 213 *et seq*

Other technical courses:	
National diploma	207
National certificate	107
National diploma and certificate Part V	1 822
National diploma and certificate Part IV	309
Apprentices:	
Block release course	8 799
Part-time courses	632

The numbers of White students who obtained National Technical Certificates during 1973 were:[2]

N.T.C. I—3 521
N.T.C. II—3 353
N.T.C. III—2 117
N.T.C. IV—93
N.T.C. V—1 055

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[2] Minister of National Education, Assembly, 9 August, Hansard 1, Question col. 36.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

STUDENT ENROLMENT

According to information kindly furnished by the universities, the enrolment in 1974 was as follows:[1]

University	*White*	*Coloured*	*Indian*	*Chinese*	*African*	*Totals*
Cape Town	8 449	404	82	31	6	8 972
Durban-Westville	—	—	2 342	—	—	2 342
Fort Hare	—	—	—	—	1 029	1 029
Natal	7 198	91	347	8	256	7 900
Orange Free State	6 685	—	—	—	—	6 685
Port Elizabeth	1 967	—	—	—	—	1 967
Potchefstroom[2]	6 415	2	—	—	4	6 421
Pretoria	14 313	—	—	—	—	14 313
Rand Afrikaans	2 143	—	—	—	—	2 143
Rhodes	2 299	—	3	39	1	2 342
Stellenbosch	9 284	—	—	—	—	9 284
South Africa[3]	26 981	1 177	1 946	60	3 995	34 159
The North	—	—	—	—	1 509	1 509
The Western Cape	—	1 440	—	—	—	1 440
The Witwatersrand	9 855	28	143	231	42	10 299
Zululand	—	—	—	—	1 003	1 003
Totals	95 589	3 142	4 863	369	7 845	111 808

DEGREES AND DIPLOMAS AWARDED

The latest comprehensive information about the number of degrees and diplomas awarded is in respect of the 1972 academic year, as given on page 334 of last year's *Survey*.

It was stated on behalf of the Minister of Indian Affairs in the Assembly on 17 September[4] that the following degrees and diplomas were awarded at the University of Durban-Westville between 1 June 1973 and 30 April 1974:

35 post-graduate degrees
182 bachelors' degrees
49 post-graduate diplomas
59 non-graduate diplomas.

The *Bantu Education Journal* for September stated that the numbers of degrees, diplomas, and certificates awarded to African students in April/May 1973 at the Universities of Fort Hare, the North, and Zululand were:

Degrees	
Doctors	1
Masters	5
Honours	26
Bachelors	263
Diplomas and Certificates	
Post-graduate	70
Non-graduate	176

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[1] At the 2nd Tuesday in March in most cases, but as at 30 June for the University of South Africa.
[2] The 6 Black students are post-graduate, seconded by Black universities. See 1973 *Survey* page 333.
[3] Correspondence courses only. The enrolment includes 1 433 students from outside the Republic.
[4] Hansard 7 col. 470.

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

Outcome of disturbances in 1973

The disturbances that took place at the University of the Western Cape during 1973 were described on pages 335 *et seq* of last year's *Survey*. It was mentioned that a one-man Commission of Inquiry had been appointed in the person of Mr. Justice J. T. van Wyk.

Mr. Justice Van Wyk's report was published on 1 March.[1] The background to the disturbances, he said, was general dissatisfaction and feelings of frustration among many Coloured people, and the fact that White rather than Coloured people controlled the University. Among the immediate causes were the activities of the S.A. Students' Organization and the fact that students were incited through the exaggeration of unfounded "grievances". No valid grievances had been substantiated against the Rector, the Senate, or the Council. Complaints against other White members of staff and against rules and regulations were either unfounded, or not substantiated, or relatively unimportant.

The only important justified complaints, it was found, related to the autonomy of the University and the salaries of the Coloured members of the staff.

The commission recommended that the Government should give constant attention to alleviating causes for dissatisfaction in the Coloured community, and their socio-economic problems.

It considered it desirable that the staff of the University should consist, as far as possible, of Coloured people. Ways of hastening the process of bringing this about were suggested, e.g. the provision of bursaries to encourage Coloured students to undertake post-graduate studies and the appointment of junior lecturers from among such students. Control should be entrusted to the Coloured community as fast as possible. The envisaged appointment of Dr. R. E. van der Ross as Rector was welcomed.[2]

The Commission stated it realized "that the Government's policy of eventually closing the gap between the salaries of Whites and those of Coloureds can probably not be implemented immediately in all cases, but feels that the University of the Western Cape should be treated as a special and exceptional case, and therefore recommends that the gap between the salaries of White and of Coloured staff be eliminated."

It was suggested that an SRC should be elected as soon as possible, in terms of a constitution approved by the Council. The amendment of any provisions of such constitution and of the existing rules and regulations could then be discussed by the Rector (or his duly authorised representative) and the SRC. Regular discussions should be held.

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[1] R.P. 22/1974.

[2] The Government had announced that Dr. van der Ross would be appointed Rector as soon as his work as a member of the Theron Commission had been completed.

Steps must be taken to prevent unrest and disturbances, the Commission considered. The disruption of lectures or the obstruction of the work of the staff should, through legislation, be made punishable offences at all universities. Strict and immediate action should be taken against any staff member or student who caused or encouraged unrest or disturbances on the campus.

In a statement issued when the Commission's report was released,[3] the Minister of Coloured Relations said that the existence of Saso on the campus of the University was undesirable. He appealed to students not to allow themselves to be misled by those who wanted to destroy their university, and to Whites to be aware of "delicate situations".

Council, Senate, and Staff of the University

The first two Coloured men were appointed to the previously all-White Council of the University of the Western Cape during 1973. In January the State President appointed three more.

Questioned in the Assembly on 20 September,[4] the Minister gave figures indicating the composition of the Senate, Council, and academic staff:

	White	*Coloured*
Senate	45	1
Council	11	5
Professors	26	—
Senior lecturers	30	1
Lecturers	45	17
Junior lecturers	—	—

The salary scales given by the Minister are as set out below. In each case a 15 per cent pensionable allowance should be added. Men and women of each group receive the same amounts.

Professor:
    White—R7 500 × 300—9 900
    Coloured—R6 900 × 300—9 000
Senior lecturer:
    White—R6 300 × 300—8 100
    Coloured—R5 760—6 000× 300—7 500
Lecturer:
    White—R4 800 × 300—6 900
    Coloured—R4 350 × 150—4 800 ×
        240—5 760—6 000—6 300
Junior lecturer:
    White—R3 600 × 150—4 500
    Coloured—R3 240 × 120—3 600 × 150—4 050

Students Representative Council

According to the Townships edition of the *Rand Daily Mail* on 15 August, the Council of the University of the Western Cape agreed to recognize a constitution for an SRC which was presented to it by the student body and was, in fact, the same as the constitution which the Council rejected in 1973.

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[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 March.

[4] Hansard 7 cols. 907—8.

UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN-WESTVILLE

During January, the first four Indians were appointed to the Council of the University of Durban Westville.

The Minister of Indian Affairs described the composition of the Senate, Council, and academic staff in September:[5]

	White	*Indian*
Senate	44[6]	4
Council	11	4
Professors	32	5
Senior lecturers . .	50	9
Lecturers	56	28
Junior lecturers . . .	13	11

Salary scales are the same as those at the University of the Western Cape.

AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES

Governing bodies and staff

The first Africans were appointed to the Councils of the three African universities in January, a total of 13 such appointments being made.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development replied to questions in the Assembly about the Senates, Councils, and academic staff of these universities.[7] Figures for the three institutions (Fort Hare, The North, and Zululand) have been combined in the table that follows.

	Whites	*Africans*
Senates	149	9
Councils	37	13
Professors	94	6
Senior lecturers . .	127	15
Lecturers	86	53
Junior lecturers . . .	—	16

The salary scales for Whites are the same as those at the Universities of the Western Cape and of Duban-Westville. Scales for Africans in September were as given below (it appeared from what the Deputy Minister said, that revised scales were to be introduced). Again, a 15 per cent pensionable allowance should be added.

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[5] Assembly, 6 September, Hansard 5 col. 336; 10 September, Hansard 6 col. 410.

[6] Plus 10 representatives of other universities.

[7] 13 September, Hansard 6 cols. 440—1.

Professor: R6 000 × 300—8 100
Senior Lecturer: R5 040 × 240—6 000 × 300—6 600
Lecturer: R3 900 × 150—4 800—5 040 × 240—5 520
Junior lecturer: R2 880 × 120—3 600.

Unrest at the University of the North

The "pro-Frelimo" gathering that was held at the University of the North on 25 September despite the prohibition of such gatherings by the Minister of Justice is described on page 66. After issuing a warning, the police dispersed the gathering forcibly. A little later that day police returned to the campus when stones were thrown at members of staff who were travelling by car. As the situation was very tense, the authorities decided to close the university at once, a week before the end of the semester.

The Rector, Professor J. L. Boshoff, told the Press[8] that the position at the University was extremely serious. Students arrived with anti-White sentiments, which were encouraged by some members of the Black academic staff. Considerable blame for this state of affairs was attributable to the Whites of S.A., he said.

One of the African senior lecturers, Mr. Gessler Nkondo, was interviewed by the Press, too.[9] He pointed out that the White and the Black members of staff lived in completely separate areas. There was no social mixing. Relations were formal. He, personally, felt trapped: as a Shangaan he was allowed to teach only at the University of the North, instead of being able to market his academic abilities freely. The students, he said, felt "savage" because they were isolated, shut out from the main currents of thought and activity in the country. What had happened in Mozambique had excited them: they were beginning to feel that change was possible—and in their lifetimes.

The Chairman of the University Council, Professor J. H. van der Merwe, announced on 8 October that a committee of the Council, headed by Professor S. P. Jackson of the Unversity of the Witwatersrand, was already investigating the Africanisation of personnel at the University.

Professor Van der Merwe said, too, that the Council had asked the Minister of Bantu Education to appoint a commission of inquiry into the events of 25 September. A Black man should, if possible, be appointed as assessor to aid the chairman.

Professor Van der Merwe emphasized that the university itself stood completely outside the current confrontation between the students and the law.

During the university recess there were reports that the president of the SRC, Mr. Gilbert K. Sedibe, and the immediate past president and newly-elected president of Saso, Mr. P. Nefolovhodwe, had been detained under the security laws.

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[8] *Star*, 30 September
[9] *Star*, 15 October

When the students returned on 16 October they held a mass meeting, reported [10] to have been attended by about 1 400, then marched on the nearest police station, picketed it for an hour, and handed in a petition demanding the release of the two students. A third, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, chairman of the local committee of Saso, was then arrested. The students returned to the campus and held another mass meeting at which a majority of them decided to boycott classes and to stage a sit-in in the university hall until the three detained persons had been released.

The Rector stated again that the whole affair was entirely a matter between the students and the police. The academic staff carried out their usual duties, a minority of students attending the lectures. The police kept watch on the situation.

The Black Academic Staff Association appealed to the students to end the sit-in, pledging themselves to do all they could to secure the release of those arrested. Eventually, on 22 October, the demonstration ended and the students returned to classes.

Questioned in the Assembly on 22 October, the Minister of Justice said [11] that the students were being detained under the Terrorism Act. He refused to divulge their names (although these had been published in the Press).

It was announced on 1 November that Mr. Justice J. H. Snyman had been appointed the chairman and only member of a commission of inquiry into the events at the university (with no Black assessor).

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[10] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 October.
[11] Hansard 12 col. 784.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

SEQUEL TO STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS IN 1972

A description was given on pages 392 *et seq* of the 1972 *Survey* of student demonstrations held that year, mainly in Cape Town and Johannesburg, arising from a campaign among White students for free and non-discriminatory education for all. There were a number of clashes between students and policemen. As mentioned on page 342 of last year's *Survey*, following these events 128 students and 16 others were charged with various offences such as participation in gatherings that had been declared unlawful, or obstructing the police. Of these people, 138 were prosecuted. Only 15 were convicted, of whom 14 were acquitted on appeal. The sentence of the fifteenth person was reduced on appeal.

A number of those involved then instituted claims for damages against the Minister of Police. Replying to question in the Assembly on 22 February and 16 August,[1] the Minister and the Deputy Minister of Police said that 31 students of the University of the Witwatersrand had brought actions against him for wrongful arrest, and 5 for assault and wrongful arrest. Out-of-court settlements were made, a total of R24 250 being paid to 31 persons. Eleven students of the University of Cape Town and a university employee had brought actions for assault. Again, out-of-court settlements were made, a total of R10 000 being paid in damages.

As described on page 64, it was mainly because of these events that during the current year the Government introduced the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act.

NATIONAL UNION OF S.A. STUDENTS

Campaign for the release of political prisoners

During May, Nusas launched a campaign for the release of political prisoners and of those who were banned and detained "for active opposition to apartheid and White domination". It stated that while the so-called political prisoners were in jail for having committed acts of violence against the State, or conspiring to do so, they had restorted to this action only after all their attempts to reach a political solution through peaceful dialogue had failed. Many of them were still regarded as leaders of their people. They should be released in order that a new political dispensation could be found in S.A. "peacefully, through the full participation of all the people and their freely chosen representatives in a process of extended negotiation".

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[1] Hansard 3 col. 140, Hansard 2 col. 89.

Students of the University of the Witwatersrand requested permission to stage a march through the streets in support of this campaign. Municipal permission was granted, but the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg refused his consent, acting in terms of the General Law Further Amendment Act, 1970. Instead, students demonstrated at the edge of their campus: there was a short clash with the police.

Johannesburg College of Education

In April, by a fairly small majority, students of the Johannesburg College of Education decided to discontinue group affiliation to Nusas, although individual students could, of course, be members.[2]

Schlebusch Commission Report

The Schlebusch Commission's report on Nusas is summarized on pages 31 *et seq.* Nusas made no official reply to this extremely lengthy report, but its president, Mr. Charles Nupen, made challenging speeches at the campuses of universities whose SRCs were affiliated to the organization. As described earlier, Nusas was in September declared an Affected Organization, which meant that it could no longer receive funds from abroad. It decided to intensify efforts to raise money from local sources for its continuing programmes.

Annual Congress

Previous to this, at its 51st annual congress held in Pietermaritzburg during July, Nusas had decided on a change of strategy and a more pragmatic approach than that followed during recent years. As its public protests appeared to have accomplished little, it would concentrate on practical activities such as serving students, prison education, wage investigations, and literacy projects. It disbanded Nused, its educational branch, and Nuswel, its welfare department, leaving the activities concerned to students on individual campuses. Aquarius, the cultural branch, was retained.

Mr. Karel Tip was elected to succeed Mr. Nupen as president towards the end of the year.[3]

SACC resolution

The terms of the resolution by the S.A. Council of Churches, calling on member-churches to consider whether Christ's call to follow Him in identifying with the oppressed did not, in the S.A. situation, involve becoming conscientious objectors to compulsory military service, are described on page 46.

[2] *Star*, 11 April.
[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 July; *Star*, 16 July, etc.

During August,[4] Mr. Nupen said that Nusas associated itself with this stand and "called on all students at Nusas-affiliated centres to challenge their consciences on this matter".

S.A. STUDENTS' ORGANIZATION

When Mr. Henry Isaacs was banned during 1973, Mr. Munty Myeza succeeded him as president of the S.A. Students' Organization (Saso). In turn, during July, Mr. P. Nefolovhodwe was elected president.[5]

During 1973, five prominent members of Saso left secretly for Botswana. Only one of them had a valid travel document, and two were banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. One of these ex-students was Mr. O. R. Tiro, whose controversial speech at the University of the North in 1972 and subsequent expulsion sparked mass student unrest on Black campuses.[6] As mentioned earlier, Mr. Tiro was killed in a parcel bomb blast early in 1974. Seven more members of Saso escaped to Botswana during October, applying for political asylum.

Saso held a five-day meeting at St. Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal during January. A resolution was passed expressing firm opposition to any "purported representation of the Black struggle in the country by the so-called leaders of the Bantustans", who were lending themselves to the continued oppression of the Black people and a "sell-out of our struggle for liberation". Saso condemned "the illegal presence of the White S.A. Government in Namibia".[7]

At a further conference, held at St. Ansgars near Wilgespruit during July, a description was given of community projects undertaken by Saso, including the building of two schools, and the conducting of a weekly clinic by medical students of the University of Natal.[8]

Saso is reported [9] to have noted "with grave concern and disgust the growing false feeling of relevance of homeland leaders, the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, and the S.A. Indian Council in Black politics". The view was expressed that Saso had completed its primary task of activating Black consciousness. Its next move should be to infiltrate the churches so as to break their White-dominated power structure.[10] Saso declared solidarity with organizations working for non-racialism in sport, and resolved to discourage Black teams from participating in multiracial and multinational sporting events, as the Blacks who did so were "merely being used".[11]

[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 August.
[5] *Ibid.*, 6 July.
[6] See 1972 *Survey*, pages 387 *et seq.*
[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 January.
[8] *Star*, 2 July.
[9] *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 July.
[10] *EcuNews Bulletin*, 8 July.
[11] *Star*, 5 July.

The arrest and detention of a number of Saso members towards the end of the year is described on pages 66 and 92.

AFRIKAANSE STUDENTEBOND

The Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) met in Potchefstroom during July for its 26th annual congress. Mr. Pieter Strauss was elected for a second term as president.

The theme of the congress was "Afrikaans Students: To-day and Tomorrow". The opening speech was given by the Prime Minister, who was followed by Dr. Andries Treurnicht, M.P. (then chairman of the Broederbond), who is regarded as "verkrampt", Professor Tjaart van der Walt of the Theological School of the University of Potchefstroom, deemed to be a "verligte", and a number of other prominent political and academic personalities. The views expressed reflected differences in approach in Nationalist circles.

After hearing the various addresses the students discussed the issues raised, passing a series of resolutions. One was to the effect that it was necessary to continue to protect the identity of the Afrikaner. Another expressed the students' view that no change in the direction of Afrikanerdom was acceptable if it contradicted the Christian National foundation upon which Afrikanerdom was built. It was stated, however, that this concept was not a static one. Mr. Strauss told the Press that the ASB identified itself with the "modern multinational community" One of the motions condemned the use of the word "discrimination".

It was resolved that the ASB should continue to seek contact and dialogue with students of other groups. Leaders told the Press, however, that they saw little prospect of meaningful contact with Nusas or Saso, because of fundamental differences in approach. There could be no departure from the framework of separate development.[12]

The ASB continues to give practical aid to African and Coloured communities in various centres, for example in conducting medical clinics.

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[12] Account compiled from various Press reports between 5 and 14 July.

SOME BURSARY (SCHOLARSHIP) FUNDS

SOME BURSARIES AWARDED BY THE STATE

The Minister of National Education said in the Assembly on 10 October[1] that, by 31 March 1973, amounts to a total of R898 122 had been paid from the National Study Loan and Bursary Fund and a supplementary State bursary fund for the study of certain professional subjects. (It would appear that most of these grants went to Whites.)

No comprehensive information is available about the numbers or total amounts of the bursaries awarded to White students from State and private sources.

It was stated by the Minister of Coloured Relations on 27 August[2] that during 1973 his Administration and the CRC had awarded R577 000 in non-repayable bursaries to 250 Coloured university students. Besides this, bursaries may be awarded to student teachers and to those taking certain courses at the Peninsula Technical College: the amounts granted were not reported.

It was announced in the *Government Gazette* on 29 March that, in addition to these study bursaries, the Department had instituted merit bursaries of R200 a year for three years at training colleges, the Peninsula Technical College, and the university, for Coloured students who obtained an 80 per cent aggregate mark or higher in the Senior Certificate examination. The bursaries might be extended to a fourth year if the course being followed was considered to be of a deserving nature. The receipt of a merit bursary would not disqualify the recipient from being granted a study bursary.

Details of bursaries (all non-repayable) awarded by the Department of Indian Affairs were given by the Minister in the Assembly on 15 August:[3]

Number of bursaries	*1972*	*1973*
Travelling and boarding grants made to deserving school pupils	3 234	3 572
Student teachers	859	681
University students	231	216
Total amount awarded	R414 044	R396 401

Similar information about awards by his Department in 1973 was provided by the Minister of Bantu Education on 19 August.[4]

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[1] Hansard 10 col. 5013.
[2] Assembly Hansard 4 col. 212.
[3] Hansard 2 col. 80.
[4] Assembly Hansard 3 cols. 117—8.

The figures exclude bursaries granted by homeland governments and other State Departments (e.g. Bantu Administration and Development):

Number of bursaries	*Non-repayable*	*Loans*
School pupils	490	—
Student teachers	474	—
University students	210	400
Total amount awarded	R112 364	R44 320

The Department of Bantu Education budgeted [5] for R221 000 to be spent on bursaries and loans during the year ending 31 March 1975.

BURSARIES ADMINISTERED BY THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

The Institute of Race Relations has registered the Race Relations National Educational Trust to promote the educational advancement primarily of African, Indian, and Coloured students, to stimulate research into educational problems, and to support and encourage projects for alleviating these problems. The initial capital was donated by the Institute, but the trustees are empowered to receive gifts and bequests which will be used at their discretion or in accordance with the specific directions of the donors.

In mid-1974 the Institute was administering 23 bursary funds, the capital of which had been donated by business firms, various organizations, and a number of individual persons. Bursaries are awarded to African, Coloured, and Indian students (the largest number going to Africans) for school education, teacher training, vocational and technical training, and a variety of university courses.

The total number of bursaries awarded in 1974 (new and continuing), and the cost that year, were:

	No.	*Annual cost* *R*
through Head Office	1 278	148 959
through Natal Race Relations Trust	277	16 630
through Cape Western Race Relations Trust	55	6 095
	1 610	171 684

One of the new funds is the Leo Marquard Memorial Bursary Fund, established by means of donations received in memory of a past president of the Institute who was one of its founder members in 1929.

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[5] Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account, R.P. 2/1974, Vote 16.

SOME OTHER BURSARY FUNDS

In its report for 1973 [6], the Department of Bantu Education stated that during that year individuals and non-departmental bodies awarded 3 698 bursaries to African school pupils and teacher-training and technical students, to a total value of R162 301. The value of the private assistance given to university students was not recorded.

In spite of these awards, the need remains very great indeed. Administrators of funds can grant a small proportion only of the applications received (about 24 per cent in the case of the Institute of Race Relations in 1974). Consequently many thousands of children are forced to drop out of school or to abandon ambitions of further education.

The Rand Bursary Fund, run by African teachers, continues to enable some of these pupils to continue. This fund is sponsored by the *Rand Daily Mail*. During the current year about R42 000 had been collected by the end of October, but R65 000 was spent (the balance being drawn from invested capital) in providing more than 1 000 bursaries to school children, teacher-trainees, and university students. Among other large bursary funds are those administered by Anglo-American and De Beers Chairman's Fund, the S.A. Sugar Industry's Trust Fund for Education, and the S.A. Council of Churches. Coloured, African, and Indian teachers and businessmen have raised considerable sums of money to assist members of their communities.

Rhodes Trust Scholarships of R500 each to be awarded for outstanding merit were instituted in S.A. by the Rhodes Trustees. These scholarships were open to Black men who completed their first university degree by the time they reached the age of 24 years. Ten such scholarships were awarded for the 1974 academic year by the S.A. Rhodes Trust Committee from a short list submitted by the bursary department of the Institute of Race Relations. A larger number of Rhodes Trust Scholarships of an increased amount, for which both Black men and women of the requisite ability and age will be eligible, are to be awarded in 1975.

The Education Information Centre, which has its office at the headquarters of the Institute of Race Relations, maintains lists of all available bursary funds for the guidance of educationalists and students.

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[6] R.P. 75/1974, page 207.

HEALTH

HOSPITAL AND CLINIC SERVICES

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly on 8 February [1] that 79 984 hospital beds were available in "White" areas for Africans, Coloured people, and Indians. He gave no statistics in respect of Whites.

Information in regard to the African homelands was given by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development on 15 February:[2]

	Republic	*South West Africa*
No. of mission hospitals	92	22
No. of other hospitals	13	5
No. of clinic centres	543	50
No. of hospital beds	27 756	3 441

Expansion is taking place—the Minister said on 8 October [3] that eleven hospitals had been erected in the homelands since 1970—but there is still severe congestion at many of the hospitals, particularly those serving certain urban areas. The situation in the homelands is being relieved gradually through the extension of the system of clinics and satellite clinics, described on page 350 of the 1973 *Survey*.

TUBERCULOSIS

According to the annual report of the S.A. National Tuberculosis Association (Santa) for the year ended 31 March 1974, 55 546 new notifications of respiratory TB were recorded that year (46 813 Africans, 6 619 Coloured, 1 345 Asians, 769 Whites).

With the aid of Government subsidies, Santa was running 26 TB settlements, with daily averages during the year of 3 980 African, 720 Coloured and 162 Indian patients.

DOCTORS

The S.A. Medical and Dental Council informed the Institute of Race Relations that 12 060 medical practitioners and 2 973 medical specialists were registered at the end of 1973. Particulars of their racial groups were not recorded by the Council. The Minister of Bantu Education said on 20 September [4] that more than 300 Africans had qualified in medicine.

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[1] Hansard 1 Question col. 10.
[2] Assembly Hansard 2 col. 95.
[3] Assembly Hansard 10 col. 689.
[4] Assembly Hansard 7 col. 3402.

Questioned in the Assembly on 15 February,[5] the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development replied that 471 White and 70 African medical practitioners were serving in the homelands of S.A., and 39 Whites (no Africans) in the homelands of South West Africa.

The voluntary medical service provided in Swaziland by "Harry's Angels" has been mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*. They are teams of specialists who visit that country every other weekend, using an aircraft made available by Mr. Harry Oppenheimer. During September they decided to extend this service to the Transkei, where there are no resident specialists.

According to information furnished by the universities [6], the enrolment of medical students in March 1974 was:

Medical School	*Whites*	*Coloured*	*Indians*	*Chinese*	*Africans*	*Total*
Cape Town	1 179	79	49	6	—	1 313
Natal	—	41	294	—	217	552
Pretoria	1 749	—	—	—	—	1 749
Stellenb[illegible] . . .	1 014	—	—	—	—	1 014
Witwatersrand . .	1 297	12	90	35	4	1 438
	5 239	132	433	41	221	6 066

The Minister of National Education said in the Assembly on 9 August [7] that 380 Whites, 5 Coloured, 35 Asians, and 21 Africans obtained the degree of MB.ChB at the end of 1973 or early in 1974.

The first medical students graduated at the Medical Faculty of the University of Natal in 1957. The Dean of this Faculty has kindly sent a schedule showing that the following total numbers had graduated by the end of 1973:

	Men	*Women*	*Total*
Indians . .	232	36	268
Africans . .	162	26	188
Coloured .	28	5	33

The post-graduate degrees awarded had been:

	M.D. degree		*M. Med. degree*	
	Men	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*
Indians . . .	3	2	6	—
Coloured . .	—	—	1	1

The Minister of Health announced in the Assembly on 18 October [8] that the Government had decided to establish a medical school for Coloured at the University of the Western Cape.

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[5] Hansard 2 cols. 95—6.

[6] Excluding the University of the Orange Free State, where a medical faculty for Whites had recently been established.

[7] Hansard 1 Question col. 34.

[8] Hansard 11 col. 5792.

The need for further training facilities for Africans in places such as the Transvaal and the Transkei has repeatedly been stressed during the year under review. Medical personnel and Opposition politicians have again urged that Blacks should once more be admitted to all medical schools that are willing to accept them without having to obtain special Ministerial permission. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor G. R. Bozzoli, is reported [9] as having said that his university would gladly again extend the facilities of its medical school to suitably qualified African students. Professor Phillip Tobias commented, "During the years 1946 to 1966, when the university had the authority to admit Africans—an authority that was exercised smoothly, responsibly, and effectively—no fewer than 103 African doctors graduated."

The salary scales for medical personnel employed in State and provincial service were revised as from 1 July, slightly narrowing the gap between the amounts paid to Whites and Blacks. Questioned in the Assembly on 16 August [10] about the new ratios, the Deputy Minister of the Interior said that for each R100 earned by a White medical officer, a Coloured or Indian received R83,3 and an African R70,9. (An estimate of the ratios in 1973 was that Coloured and Asian doctors then earned between 70 and 81 per cent of the salaries of Whites with equal qualifications, and Africans between 65 and 76 per cent.)

The Medical Association of S.A. decided in May to ban all advertisements in its official organ, the *S.A. Medical Journal*, in which the rates of pay offered to Black doctors were lower than those for Whites.

DENTISTS

The S.A. Medical and Dental Council states that on 31 December 1973 there were 1 767 dentists and 94 dental specialists on its register. Almost all are White. Three or four Blacks have qualified overseas: according to the Minister of Bantu Education [11] there is one African dentist. The first two Coloured students to qualify in dentistry in S.A. received their degrees from the University of the Witwatersrand at the end of 1973. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said in the Assembly [12] that only three dentists were practising in the homelands of the Republic and only one in the homelands of S.W.A.—all of them White men.

According to the Minister of National Education,[13] there were 717 White dental students enrolled in 1974. The University of the Witwatersrand informed the writer that in March it had 296

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[9] *Star*, 11 July.

[10] Hansard 2 cols. 91—2.

[11] Assembly Hansard 7 col. 3402.

[12] 15 February, Hansard 2 cols. 95—6.

[13] 9 August, Assembly Hansard 1 Question col. 34.

White, 3 Coloured, 14 Indian, 1 Chinese, and 9 African dental students. As mentioned on page 354 of last year's *Survey*, the University of Stellenbosch, in co-operation with the University of the Western Cape, has begun training Coloured students. The Minister said that at the end of 1973, 64 Whites, 2 Coloured, and 2 Asians qualified as dentists.

NURSES

The following table, indicating the numbers of registered nursing personnel as at 31 December 1973, has been compiled from schedules kindly sent by the S.A. Nursing Council:

	White	*Coloured*	*Asian*	*African*	*Totals*
General nurses	9 447	751	160	3 436	13 794
General nurses with additional qualifications	14 085	1 941	199	9 571	25 796
Midwife only	985	256	—	1 683	2 924
Other nurses[1]	1 214	63	9	447	1 733
	25 731	3 011	368	15 137	44 247
Enrolled (auxiliary) nurses and midwives	1 623	1 173	167	9 900	12 863
Enrolled nursing assistants	7 664	3 441	294	13 575	24 974
Student nurses and midwives	4 737	788	245	4 520	10 290
Enrolled pupil nurses	1 494	1 013	148	3 718	6 373

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said in the Assembly on 15 February[2] that the following numbers of trained nurses and midwives were serving in the homelands:

	White	*African*
Republic	398	11 707
South West Africa	213	575

According to the Deputy Minister of the Interior,[3] the salaries of nurses in State and provincial employment were raised as from 1 July, and the gap between the pay of White and Black nurses with the same qualifications, employed in similar posts, was slightly reduced. The ratio after these adjustments for a Senior Sister was: White 100, Coloured and Indian 71,8, African 63,1.

It was reported in April[4] that Chinese student nurses were training and living together with Whites at the Johannesburg General Hospital, but were paid at rates applicable to the Coloured group.

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[1] Psychiatric, mental, fever, children's etc.
[2] Hansard 2 cols. 95—6.
[3] Assembly, 16 August, Hansard 2 cols. 91—2.
[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 April.

PHARMACISTS

The Minister of Health said in the Assembly on 20 August [5] that the numbers of registered chemists and druggists as at 30 June were:

White	4 693
Coloured	26
Indian	59
African	12

In the Assembly during August [6] the three responsible Ministers gave information about Black pharmacy students registered in 1974. The Minister of Indian Affairs gave no figure for first year students: he explained that prospective students registered for the pure B.Sc. course in their first year, and were thereafter selected for the second year pharmacy course. The courses are conducted at the Universities of the Western Cape, Durban-Westville, and the North, respectively.

	1st year	*2nd year*	*3rd year*	*4th year*
Coloured[7]	49	8	17	5
Indian	—	15	20	29
African	76	28	7	2

During February the responsible Ministers reported in the Assembly on the numbers who qualified during 1973:[8]

Whites: 3 year courses	282
Whites: 4 year courses	140
Coloured	4
Indians	21
Africans	2

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said on 15 February [9] that the chemists and druggists who were practising in the homelands were:

	Whites	*Africans*
Republic	42	2
South West Africa	7	—

PARA-MEDICAL PERSONNEL

The para-medical personnel in the homelands were:

	Republic		*South West Africa*	
	Whites	*Africans*	*Whites*	*Africans*
Physiotherapists	18	34	6	—
Radiographers	36	58	5	—
Health inspectors	4	13	10	2
Health assistants	—	32	18	7
Pharmaceutical assistants	—	18	—	—

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[5] Hansard 3 col. 151.

[6] Hansard 2 cols. 69 and 81; Hansard 3 col. 118.

[7] The figure for 2nd year Coloured students may have been a misprint in Hansard.

[8] Hansard 3 cols. 109, 110, 136, 137.

[9] Hansard 2 cols. 95—6.

So far as students are concerned, information is available in respect only of Africans. It was given in the Assembly by the Minister of Bantu Education on 22 February.[10]

	Length of course	*Students enrolled*			*Qualified in 1973*
		1st year	*2nd year*	*3rd year*	
Health assistants	1 year	34	—	—	34
Health inspectors	2 years	27	26	—	20
Public health nurses	1 year	56	—	—	41
Medical technologists	2 years	68	11	—	2
Radiographers	2 years	20	8	—	7
Physiotherapists	3 years	9	5	9	7

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[10] Hansard 3 cols. 145–6

SOCIAL WELFARE

HOMES FOR CHILDREN

During September the responsible Ministers answered a series of questions in the Assembly about homes for children.[1] The statistics given were as follows:

	No. of homes	*No. of children accommodated*	
		Committed	*Privately placed*
Whites	100	5 820	1 032
Coloured	33	2 356	1 130
Indians	6	238	124
Africans	12	1 167	182

There was one home in S.W.A., accommodating 54 committed White children.

Information was given about the monthly rates of subsidies paid in respect of normal committed children, and committed children suffering from some disability. So far as Africans were concerned, the information related to the eight homes subsidized by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. The four other homes were subsidized by homeland governments, which made their own arrangements.

	Monthly rate of subsidy per committed child		
	Jan. to Nov. 1974		*Increase from 1 Dec.*
	Normal	*Disabled*	
Whites	R36,50	R40,50	R3,00
Coloured	R23,75	R35,75	R2,10
Indians	R23,75	R25,75	R2,10
Africans	R9,12½	R9,12½	R1,05

HOMES FOR AGED PERSONS

Similar information was given about homes for elderly people, also during September.[2] The homes in the Republic were as follows:

	No. of homes		*No. of persons accommodated*
	State	*Aided*	
Whites	65	233	16 590
Coloured	1	14	1 149
Indians	—	2	58
Africans	1	22	2 575

There were five homes for Whites in S.W.A. (one State, four aided), accommodating a total of 245 persons, and a home for Africans had been established in Damaraland.

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[1] Hansard 5 cols. 378, 379; Hansard 7 cols. 463, 500.

[2] Hansard 5 cols. 380—1, 382; Hansard 7 cols. 464, 531—2.

The monthly rates of subsidies paid to aided homes for Whites per person accommodated were:

Normal aged—R5,50

Infirm aged—R28,60, or R47,50 if regular nursing services were provided.

Extremely infirm or chronic sick—R66,50

For Coloured and Indians the rates per month were R3,50 per normal person and R19 per infirm person. Accurate information was, apparently, not available in respect of Africans. All of the homes except four were in homelands, and the amounts of the subsidies paid by the homeland governments varied. A portion of the old age pension awarded to inmates was paid to the homes.

In the Assembly on 27 February[1] the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave a list of all the homes for Africans. There were four in "White" areas, at Bloemfontein, Pietermaritzburg, Durban, and Dundee, which between them could accommodate 175 persons. In various of the homelands there were eight homes for physically able aged Africans, two run by government agencies and the rest by churches. There were also eleven homes for infirm aged persons, all conducted by churches.

SOCIAL PENSIONS

The rates of social pensions were increased as from 1 May, and again from 1 December, by the following amounts per month:

	May	*December*
Whites	R5,00	R5,00
Coloured and Indians	R2,50	R3,50
Africans	R1,25	R2,00

As from 1 December, the maximum monthly amounts payable in old age and blind pensions and disability grants, and the maximum free income allowed if this full pension was to be paid, were as follows:

	Whites *R*	*Coloured and Indians* *R*	*Africans* *R*
Maximum pension	57,00	29,50	11,25
Free income allowed	42,00	21,00	6,66
	99,00	50,50	17,91

White war veterans are paid a bonus of R10 a month, and Coloured and Indians R5. African ex-servicemen do not qualify for bonuses. African pensions are paid only every two months.

The free income allowed includes benefits received and a computed income value of assets such as investments and property. As a person's free income rises above the maximum permitted, the pension is progressively reduced.

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[1] Hansard 4 cols. 191—4.

Supplementary amounts are payable if the application for a pension is delayed one or more years after the applicant reaches the prescribed age of 65 years for men and 60 for women.

In the Assembly during August and September the four Ministers concerned were asked a series of questions about social pensions.[4] The following information has been compiled from their replies. The number of pensioners reflected the position as at the end of 1973 for Whites, as at 1 July for Indians, and as at 31 July for Coloured. No date was mentioned in respect of Africans, and the numbers given *excluded* all those who received pensions from homeland governments.

Pension	*No. of recipients*			
	White	*Coloured*	*Indian*	*African*
Old Age	122 796	70 673	11 513	167 204
Blind	879	1 633	194	4 674
Disability . . .	24 672	30 463	10 972	52 727
War Veterans . .	16 177	5 828	167	—

Calculating from figures given by the Ministers, it transpires that about 94 per cent of the White pensioners, 91 per cent of the Coloured, 96 per cent of the Indians, but only 34 per cent of the Africans, were receiving the maximum amounts permitted.

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[4] Hansard 3 cols. 158, 189; Hansard 4 col. 238; Hansard 5 cols. 270—1.

THE ARTS, ENTERTAINMENT, AND RECREATION FACILITIES

LITERATURE

A valuable contribution to S.A. letters in 1974 was the English version of the poems of a pioneer of Zulu literature, B. W. Vilakazi, who died in 1947. These, issued under the title *Zulu Horizons*, have been published by the Witwatersrand University Press and are rendered into English verse by another S.A. poet, Florence Louie Friedman.[1]

A leading S.A. poet and authority on present day Black writers, Lionel Abrahams, said in February: "The silence that followed the Government's banning of practically all the well-known Black prose writers in 1966 is being broken by poets. In its turn a new and vigorous voice of Black poetry is contributing to the debate about the realities of South African life".[2] An example of this was *To Whom It May Concern* (ed. Robert Royston; pub. Ad. Jonker). This anthology represents twelve local poets, including Sydney Sempala, Pascal Gwala, Oswald Mtshali, Mafika Mbuli, Njabulo Ndebele and others, writing in English about poverty, imprisonment, infant mortality, humiliation and other themes. A new collection of poems by Mongane Wally Serote was published under the title *Tsetlo*, meaning "little bird".

Early in the year it was reported that the Cape Director of Education had banned African and Coloured poets from reading their works in poetry sessions to pupils at schools under his control, and had said that White poets reciting their poems had to observe his condition "of avoiding contentious or political comment".[3] In spite of this ban, pupils at private schools heard the work of Oswald Mtshali, and more sessions with Black poets were planned at which provincial pupils would be welcome. Later in the year, the English Committee of the Joint Matriculation Board recommended for matriculation pupils two books by the Nigerian writer, Chinua Achebe. They were *Things Fall Apart* and *No longer at Ease*.[4]

THE VISUAL ARTS

As one of the major problems facing Black artists is the expense involved in exhibiting, the Programme for Social Change in association with Devcraft staged an exhibition, Black Art, in November, with all profits going to the artists. Etchings, paintings, sculpture and lino-cuts by established and unknown artists were shown, and included work by Cyril Khumalo. Another exhibition held in November displayed the work of 15 artists, and aimed to launch a fund to help provide struggling artists with materials. Other exhibitions during the year included drawings by Isiah Motsepe, sculpture by the Coloured artist, Sidney Beck, works by sculptor Stanley Nkosi, who also exhibited 31 paintings and eight terra cotta figures at the Ansdell Gallery in London in August, and a number of other one man or joint showings of Black artists.

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[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 February.
[2] *Ibid.*, 6 February.
[3] *Ibid.*, 7 February.
[4] *Ibid.*, 26 September.

Tapestries and an urn from the Rorkes Drift Art Centre formed part of S.A.'s exhibition at the 38th International Art and Crafts Fair held in Florence in April and May. (The S.A. work was awarded a gold medal.) The Art Centre was described in the June 1974 issue of *Bantu*: it employs between 150 and 200 African men and women, and trains from 30 to 40 students from all over S.A. and S.W.A. Courses offered by a staff of eight teachers include a two-year Fine Arts Course, a two-year Arts and Crafts Instructors course, and a one or six months' course in various crafts e.g. pottery, weaving, dressmaking. Profits made from the sale of articles are reinvested in the school with the result that the centre is self-supporting, benefiting artists and employees at the same time as it promotes the arts. A R750 000 art centre for the Coloured community is to be erected at Athlone in the Cape, accommodating 300 art students and forming part of the Hewat Training College. (The Zonnebloem Training College for Coloured teachers already houses another such centre.)[5]

An interesting article on developments in African sculpture and painting with details of the life and work of various artists appeared in the September 1974 issue of *Bantu*.

THEATRE AND ENTERTAINMENT

In March, the African Music, Drama, Arts and Literature Institute (MDALI) held a week-long arts festival in Johannesburg, including displays of art and sculpture, dramatized poetry readings and discussions. MDALI gave an award to the musician, Eric Nomvete, for doing the most during the year to promote the advancement of Black art.[6]

Permission was given for the spectacular all-African musical, *Ipi Tombi*, to be shown to White audiences in Johannesburg, and for White people in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg to see another revue, *Meropa*, with a cast of 26 Africans. Both these shows would tour overseas the following year. *Godspell*, a folk musical directed by Des and Dawn Lindberg and based on parts of the Gospel of St. Mark, opened in Lesotho in 1973. Because the American author had stipulated that it must be shown to multiracial audiences only, and because the cast was multiracial, it was shown later in S.A. to "invitation audiences" only. Then, after the show had been seen by over 200 000 people, he gave his permission for "Whites-only" performances.[7] *Kanna Hy Kô Hystoe*, by the Coloured playwright Adam Small, was the first work by a Black writer to be staged at the Alexander Theatre in Johannesburg by the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal. Small attended the premiére in Johannesburg, but later declined an invitation to the opening of the play at the Nico Malan Theatre in Cape Town, saying that "the meaning conveyed by the Nico Malan in so far as it exludes my people is so painfully experienced by them that I find it impossible to be personally present on November 22".[8] For the first time, the Colosseum in Johannesburg, the Playhouse in Durban and the Three Arts in Cape Town were open to Coloured and Indian people to see Lovelace Watkins, the Black American entertainer, who toured S.A. in November with members of the Count Bassie and Duke Ellington orchestras.

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[5] *S.A. Digest*, 19 July

[6] *Rand Daily Mail—Township Mail*, 8 March

In August, the Experimental Theatre Workshop '71 held a theatre festival at the University of the Witwatersrand, showing *Crossroads*, Credo Mutwa's *Unosilimela*, Ben Jonson's *Zzzip!* and *Happy Ending* by D. Turner-Ward.

The SABC Sarie Awards were open to Blacks for the first time, and the Springbok Award for the most promising male vocalist was won by a Coloured singer, Lionel Petersen.

An article in the September issue of *Bantu* described the development of Cine Afrika by the Bantu Investment Corporation and Satbel. In the first stage of this film industry for the homelands, mobile units will be used to train African technicians, producers, and actors, and later theatres will be built in areas that warrant them.

RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

S.A.'s first African hotel outside the homelands was opened in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, in September. The hotel Mphabatho ("bring us people" in Sotho and Tswana) was built and will be run by the Central Transvaal Bantu Administration Board. The manager is White, but all other staff members are Black.[9] Soweto's first African hotel, the Diepkloof, was opened in November. Built by the Bantu Resettlement Board, it cost R500 000.[10]

The first phase of a multimillion rand holiday resort for Coloured people is to be completed by October 1975 at a cost of R166-million. Sonesta, near Hermanus in the Cape, is to be handed over by the Coloured Development Corporation to Coloured entrepreneurs when it becomes profitable.[11] A report on the African holiday resort, Umgababa, on the Natal South coast, appeared in the September 1974 issue of *Bantu*. Music festivals, beauty competitions and other entertainment had attracted 140 000 visitors during 1973. This resort was the property of the Bantu Investment Corporation which had already invested R700 000 in the project, and planned to spend another R300 000 on additional facilities. All but two of the Umgababa staff members were Africans.

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[7] *Star*, 2 August.
[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 November.
[9] *Star*, 28 August.
[10] *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 November.
[11] *Ibid.*, 28 October.

An increase in municipal facilites for Blacks is planned. An African eating-house is to be built in Alberton;[12] the Randburg Town Council decided in October to build an African restaurant and open parks to Blacks;[13] and the Sandton Civic Foundation set aside R200 000 to improve Black amenities.[14]

In April, the S.A.I.R.R. published a memorandum, *Sporting and other recreational facilities available in Coloured and Indian townships along the Reef* (RR. 57/74).

[12] *Star*, 22 August.
[13] *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 October.
[14] *Star*, 19 November.

SPORT

GENERAL

Government policy

"The development of sport within an individual national context" as a prerequisite for sound sport relations among the various population groups of S.A. was again stressed in Parliament on 14 October by the Minister of Sport and Recreation, Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof.[1] This multinational policy has previously been described in some detail in other Institute publications,[2] and it is justified by three main points: (i) it recognizes the identity and characteristic qualities of each nation, and takes into account that S.A. is a multinational country; (ii) it affords each sportsman and sportswoman in S.A. an "untrammelled opportunity" of climbing to the highest rung in sport; and (iii) it prevents possible friction arising because of the nature, the customs and traditions of each nation.

A major concession in Government policy was announced earlier in the year by the Minister when he stated that S.A. sports bodies under suspension from international bodies would be permitted to hold "multinational", rather than "open international", events.[3] They would, therefore, no longer need the participation of overseas teams to hold mixed sports, whereby they hoped to prove to the international bodies concerned that progress towards multiracial sport was taking place in S.A. (S.A.'s suspension prohibits, in many cases, the participation of foreign sportsmen in events in this country.)

Finance and Administration

There were several calls during the year for the sporting interests of all race groups to be catered for by one, rather than by four, Government Departments, thereby ensuring equal administration, promotion and financial assistance.

In reply to questions in the Assembly, the Minister of Sport and Recreation said that his Department (with a budget of R1-million) had paid R644 461 in financial assistance/grants-in-aid in 1973 to White sporting bodies;[4] the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that his Department (with a sports budget of R50 000) had paid R24 650 in 1973 to five African sporting bodies and the S.A. Open International Games;[5] and the

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[1] Hansard 11 col. 5302, 14 October.
[2] See 1971 *Survey*, pages 314 *et seq.*, and *S.A.: Basic Facts and Figures*, SAIRR 1973, page 106.
[3] *Star*, 29 May.
[4] Hansard 6 col. 419, 10 September.
[5] Hansard 7 cols. 498—9, 18 September.

Departments of Indian Affairs and of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs (neither of which had sports budgets) were reported to have paid out R9 200 and R137 209, respectively, in 1973 to assist three Indian and 37 Coloured sporting bodies.[6] (The Bantu Sport and Recreation Fund will be dealt with later in this chapter.)

In October, the Transkei Government received R40 000 from the Xhosa Development Corporation towards the erection of an international sports stadium in Umtata. (The money came from the profits on the sale of Jabulani beer, which is brewed by the Corporation.)[7]

Sports isolation

Replying to a question in Parliament, Dr. Koornhof said that S.A. is excluded from nine international sporting associations, i.e. weightlifting, swimming, cycling, football, boxing, wrestling, athletics, canoeing and the Olympic Games. During 1973 and the first six months of 1974, South Africans were barred from taking part in 20 sporting events held in other countries,[8] including several which until recently had good sporting relations with S.A., eg. Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Brazil and Japan. In June, Japan announced that, as from 15 June 1974, visas would no longer be granted to South Africans for sporting, cultural or educational reasons.[9]

To combat this isolation, there were numerous pleas, *inter alia*, by Nationalist politicians and newspapers for merit selection of S.A. international touring teams.[10]

BANTU SPORT AND RECREATION FUND

This fund was established by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to provide facilities for Africans throughout the country, but particularly for migrant workers living temporarily in the urban areas. (See page 366 of the 1973 *Survey*.) By October the total amount contributed to the fund was R462 300.[1] R25 000 was donated by Roberts Construction,[2] and there were further promises of R250 000 from the Mayor of Sandton,[3] and a large grant from Ellerine Holdings, who plan to spend R500 000 over 10 years on helping to develop "the latent ability of our African sportsmen".[4]

The Deputy Minister appointed a special allocations committee consisting of two senior officials of the Department; their recommendations were then submitted for his consideration.

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[6] Hansard 7 col. 468, 17 September and Hansard cols. 667—8, 4 October.

[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 October.

[8] Hansard 4 col. 193, 26 August.

[9] *Star*, 5 June.

[10] *Star*, 27 June; *Sunday Times*, 25 August.

[1] Hansard 8 col. 583, 27 September.

[2] *S.A. Digest*, 3 May.

[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 May.

[4] *Ibid.*, 18 January.

So far, R24 000 has been allocated for the development of soccer fields and a gymnastic hall, and R12 000 for community and recreational halls and playground equipment, in the Bantu Affairs Administration Board areas of the Northern Cape, Highveld and Eastern Transvaal.[5].

TENNIS

A special Coupe de Nations open international tournament was held in April to serve as trials for the selection of the S.A. Federation Cup team on merit. Four Black and four White S.A. women took part with players from Holland, Spain, Britain and West Germany, but the Blacks won only three games in 12 sets, showing an obvious lack of coaching, adequate facilities and opportunities. The Cup final was played in Italy in May, after the venue had been changed from New Zealand which had refused visas to South Africans, and the championships were boycotted by the Sudan, Yugoslavia and Rumania because of the participation of S.A.

It was hoped that S.A.'s problems in international tennis would be solved by setting up a multiracial steering committee to investigate the formation of an integrated control for tennis in S.A., but no agreement could be reached at a summit meeting to discuss this held in May between the (White) S.A. Lawn Tennis Union (SALTU), which is affiliated to the International Lawn Tennis Federation (ILTF), the (African) S.A. National Lawn Tennis Union affiliated to SALTU, and the non-racial Southern African Lawn Tennis Union, which wants integration at club level.[1]

A Russian motion to expel S.A. from the ILTF was defeated at a meeting of the world body in July,[2] and demands that S.A. be expelled from the 1974 and 1975 Davis Cup competitions were rejected by the Davis Cup management committee, also in July.[3] These events were seen as triumphs for S.A. tennis, but were followed by S.A.'s victory in winning the Davis Cup, for the first time in the history of the 70-year old event, by default, when India refused to play S.A. in the final. Earlier, Italy had threatened not to play S.A. in the interzone final unless the matches took place at a neutral venue, but at a special meeting of the Davis Cup Nations Committee, Ellis Park was declared the venue.[4] S.A. beat Italy 4—1. Then, despite assurances from Dr. Piet Koornhof, via an Indian businessman, to the All-India Lawn Tennis Federation, that apartheid in sport and discrimination on the basis of race and colour was disappearing in S.A.,[5] and cables with a similar message from SALTU, on 29 October India officially refused to meet S.A. in the D.C. final, and issued the following statement:

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[5] Hansard 8 col. 583, 27 September.

[1] *Star*, 20 May.

[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 July.

[3] *Ibid.*, 5 July.

[4] *Ibid.*, 5 September.

[5] *Sunday Times*, 13 October.

"That in the absence of any assurance for the removal of racial discrimination and starting of integrated and mixed play in all sports in the country at national and international levels, India is not in a position to play S.A."[6] India and S.A. had threatened to try to expel each other from the Davis Cup on the grounds of disrupting the competition at the D.C. Nations Committee in Rome in November, but neither presented a formal motion to this effect, and S.A. was still to have a bye to the North American zone in 1975.

Of the eleven S.A. Blacks whose entries had been accepted for the SA Breweries Open Championships in November, four men and four women were to be selected to form a squad sponsored by Ellerine Holdings to compete in the Sugar Circuit tournaments which had been declared open international events in December 1973.[7] In March, it was also announced that the qualifying rounds for the Clows Classic would be open international events.

The first multiracial tennis tournament to be held in Natal was arranged by the (Indian) Michaelhouse United Tennis Club in July. Sixty-four White, African, Coloured and Indian couples took part.[8]

SOCCER

In April, the Embassy Multinational Tournament, arranged by the Football Association of South Africa (FASA), was held between a Continental team (consisting of foreign born persons living in S.A.) who won the tournament, and White, African, Indian, and Coloured teams. After the tournament, a "shadow" Springbok team, including six Africans, was chosen; this team would represent S.A. in an international match, but as FASA had been suspended from the International Football Association (FIFA), it could only be a hypothetical team at that stage.[1]

In June, a multiracial delegation from FASA and its Black affiliates attended a congress of FIFA at which a motion was passed to expel countries which practised racial discrimination in soccer. S.A. was not specifically mentioned in the clause, but it was almost certain that there would be an attempt to expel S.A. at the next world congress in 1976. Norman Middleton, president of the non-racial S.A. Soccer Federation (SASF), had wanted to attend the June Congress to ask for S.A.'s expulsion, but he was offered a passport only on condition that he guaranteed not to harm S.A.'s sporting interests. He refused this offer.[2]

The Minister of Sport announced in October that mixed soccer between clubs would be allowed for the first time early in

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[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 October.

[7] *Sunday Times*, 10 November.

[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 July.

[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 April.

[2] *Star*, 3 June.

1975. This would take the form of a "Champion of Champions" tournament to be held on a knockout basis in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg. Each of the separate, autonomous, control bodies (White, Coloured and African) would after their league competitions designate their champion teams.[3] This news was welcomed by FASA, but its Black affiliates said they would not take part unless FASA agreed to the dissolution of all existing associations and the formation of a new, integrated umbrella body, and Mr. Middleton said he would not discuss the tournament at all, accusing the FASA president "of supporting the Government's multi-national programme while professing to want integrated soccer." [4]

A Durban prosecutor declined to prosecute people whose names had been taken by police during a match between Indians and Whites at an Isipingo Beach Indian sports ground in October. "Soccer administrators said it was now beyond doubt that there was no law against mixed sport in S.A." [5]

RUGBY

Pressure to bring about multiracial rugby in S.A. came largely from outside the country during 1974, the two main targets being the Lions' tour of S.A. and the Springboks' of France. In spite of an announcement in June by Dr. Koornhof that, during 1973, the federal council of the National Party had given the Government a mandate to allow Blacks the right to be included in an all-S.A. team "if and when it is regarded in the interests of S.A.", the Springbok team remained White.

The Stop the Apartheid Rugby Tour (SART) campaign in England did not succeed, but several players rejected selection for the team,[1] the British Embassy staff in S.A. was directed by the Foreign Office in London to have no official or unofficial contact with the Lions,[2] and the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa decided to boycott British sport indefinitely,[3] (This ban was later lifted in all sports except rugby.) The Lions' 22-match tour included one against the Leopards (selected by the S.A. African Rugby Board) and one against the Proteas (selected by the (Coloured) S.A. Rugby Football Federation). A request to the Minister to allow two Blacks in the Quagga team was turned down, apparently because of the prior press publicity given to the likelihood of his granting it.[4]

An anti-apartheid campaign in France against the November tour of the Springboks was led by the Movement Against Racism, Anti-Semitism and for Peace (MRAP), which was joined by 21 other organizations including the French Communist Party and the Roman Catholic International Commission for Justice and Peace. At the time of going to press there had been no disruption of the tour, although the Springboks had had to change their departure time after threats of "travel hampering tactics" when their aeroplane stopped in Zaïre.[5]

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[3] *S.A. Digest*, 25 October.
[4] *Sunday Times*, 20 October.
[5] *Star*, 6 November.
[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 March.
[2] *Ibid.*, 10 May, 21 May.
[3] *Star*, 27 May.
[4] *Ibid.*, 19 June.

In May the Leopards toured Italy, and a New Zealand club, including five Maoris, toured S.A. in February, playing against a S.A. Coloured team.

CRICKET

A three-phase plan leading to multiracial cricket was reported to have been discussed at a meeting in November 1973 by Dr. Koornhof and Mr. Hassan Howa, the militant president of the non-racial S.A. Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC).[1] Representatives of the S.A. African Cricket Board were later assured by the Minister that African cricketers were to be included in the plan, and he offered to help them improve their standard of coaching and match opportunities.[2]

Later, however, Howa rejected this plan when he was refused a passport (apparently a full Cabinet decision) to attend a meeting in London in July of the International Cricket Conference (ICC) to which SACBOC had applied for affiliation in place of the (White) S.A. Cricket Association (SACA). SACA was ineligible for membership of the ICC as it did not represent all S.A. players, and the meeting again confirmed that S.A. would not be allowed to play Test matches until cricket in S.A. was non-racial.[3]

In August, Mr. Joe Pamensky, chairman of the Transvaal Cricket Union (TCU) challenged the Government to open the way for multiracial cricket.[4] This call was followed in September by an historic meeting between the TCU and Mr. Rashid Varachia, president of the non-racial Transvaal Cricket Federation (and acting president of SACBOC after Mr. Howa's resignation in August), resulting in the submission of a blueprint for mixed cricket to SACA for approval, and then to the Government. There was no final decision at the time of going to press.

In March, with the help of the TCU, the *Rand Daily Mail* arranged three schools cricket coaching clinics in Soweto. Six English cricketers coached nearly 1 000 schoolboys.[5]

The formation of the multiracial Aurora Cricket Club in Pietermaritzburg was mentioned on pages 112 and 365 of the 1973 *Survey*. Police took the names of players on 13 October 1973, but apparently no further action has been taken. The club, with five regular Indian players, was again accepted in the all-White Maritzburg Second League Division, and at the end of the 1973/4 season magisterial permission was given for a multi-racial dinner at a Black hotel.[6]

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[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 October.
[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 March.
[2] *Star*, 22 March.
[3] *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 July.
[4] *Ibid.*, 16 August.
[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 March.

SACBOC again refused an invitation to take part in the Datsun double-wicket competition in September, as did India and Pakistan and the African cricketer, Kaya Majola, who had earlier in the year toured England playing for the Derrick Robins XI. However, two former Pakistanis and two former West Indians, all living in England, took part with Rhodesian, English, Australian, New Zealander, S.A. and S.A. African couples.

In September, the Government gave permission for a White South African to play in the International Wanders XI (which included a Pakistani and a West Indian) against an all-White Invitation Transvaal team. In October, S.A. Black cricketers and administrators were angered by a Government decision to allow Pakistani Younis Ahmed to represent Rhodesia in the Currie Cup and Gillette Cup, as Rhodesia was technically a provincial affiliate of SACA. The matches were therefore domestic, hence the open international policy could not be applied.[7]

ATHLETICS, GYMNASTICS, CYCLING AND WEIGHTLIFTING

Athletics

In August, the International Amateur Athletics Federation confirmed the suspension of the S.A. Amateur Athletics Union (SAAAU) for a further 2 years, allowing South Africans to compete overseas as individuals, but not as a team. The same rule applied to foreigners competing in S.A. It had been hoped that the staging of an open international athletics meeting in April (the first in which Coloured athletes had met Whites on the track in S.A.) and the formation of a new multiracial controlling body (of which an African was later elected a vice-president)[1] would help S.A. to gain re-admission to the world body.

Although the Secretary for Sport had said that the Comrades Marathon could be multiracial in 1974 if entries from more than two overseas runners were received,[2] the organizers, Collegian Harriers Club, voted to exclude Black runners. However, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Marathon, the organizers announced that the race would be officially multiracial in 1975. Six Indian, six Coloured and six African runners would be allowed to participate,[3] provided their clubs were affiliated to the SAAAU.

In April, Titus Mamabola became the first Black S.A. athletics champion and excelled in the men's 5 000 metre events, winning races in S.A., Spain and West Germany. In Naples, however, Ugandan, Tunisian and Kenyan athletes refused to compete against Mamabola, so the entire S.A. team walked out of the meeting in protest,[4] and at a meeting in Paris, the communist countries participated only on condition that the S.A. team was not officially presented, and the S.A. flag was not flown.[5]

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[6] *Star*, 26 October.
[7] *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 and 12 October.
[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 July and 21 October.
[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 January.
[3] *Star*, 7 August.

Gymnastics

S.A. was excluded from the October 1974 World Gymnastics Championships, which, after much debate,[6] were held in Bulgaria which refused visas to S.A. athletes. In spite of this, and a likely attempt to expel S.A. from the International Gymnastics Federation the following year, there were plans to send a multiracial 350-man team to an international gymnastrada in Berlin in 1975.

A team of 32 policemen, including an African, a Coloured and an Indian, was to have competed in the first police Olympics, to be held in San Francisco in August, but the invitation was withdrawn because of "the possibility of violence and disruption of the games" if S.A. competed.[7]

Cycling

S.A.'s first open cycling championship, the Raleigh Grand Prix, was held in Pretoria in May, but members of the (Coloured) S.A. Cycling Association refused to take part, saying that the (White) S.A. Cycling Federation wanted to use the Coloured cyclists' participation to gain re-admission to the international body, FIAC.[8]

In spite of S.A.'s suspension from FIAC, in terms of which overseas cyclists participating in S.A. could be penalized, teams from four other countries took part with Rhodesian, S.A. and Black S.A. teams in the Rapport Tour, an open international race from Cape Town to Johannesburg in September.

Weightlifting

The non-racial S.A. Amateur Weightlifting and Body-Building Federation turned down a plea by the International Weightlifting Federation to affiliate to the (White) S.A. Amateur Weightlifting Union (SAAWU), thereby nullifying any hope that S.A. might be re-admitted to the world body, from which it had been suspended since 1969.

The SAAWU held its first open international championships in October, with entrants from overseas countries, including two Nationalist Chinese champions.

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[4] *Ibid.*, 3 July.

[5] *Ibid.*, 6 June.

[6] For details, see *Star*, 14 April, and *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 May and 22 July.

[7] *Star*, 16 August.

[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 April.

BOXING

On 28 May, the Minister of Sport and Recreation announced that professional multinational boxing tournaments could take place in S.A. Clarifying this statement later,[1] he said such tournaments would have to be "of a prestigious nature" between fighters who were world-class but not necessarily world-rated. Government approval would be given to tournaments for a world title fight, an internationally recognized final trial fight or other tournaments on condition that (a) the tournament complied with the requirements of a S.A. multinational event, and (b) that the S.A. boxers taking part were registered with the S.A. Boxing Board of Control. Also, with Ministerial approval, a White, or a White-owned company, could sponsor mixed or Black tournaments, because Black promoters did not always have the necessary funds, thereby prejudicing Black boxing.[2]

The first such tournament was the Trek Multinational at the Rand Stadium in August, when the two White and two Black South Africans beat their Danish, Brazilian and French opponents, and in October two S.A. Blacks beat world-rated foreign fighters at Ellis Park.

SWIMMING

FINA (International Swimming Federation) confirmed in September that the suspension of the (White) S.A. Amateur Swimming Union (SAASU) would not be lifted until a single, integrated body controlled swimming in S.A., but no final agreement about such a merger could be reached at the July meeting between SAASU, the Black SAASU affiliate, and the non-racial S.A. Amateur Swimming Federation (SAASWIF). SAASWIF wanted club-level integration, and was "not interested in isolated inter-race events"; accordingly, it rejected an invitation to take part in an open international championship in February 1975 (arranged by SAASU), and another from the White Natal Amateur Swimming Association to the SAASWIF Natal affiliate to participate in a private-pool gala.[1]

Although the Government gave SAASU permission to hold the multiracial gala at Ellis Park in 1975, the Department of Community Development rejected an application by the SAASWIF Griqualand West Union to use Kimberley's Karen Muir pool in 1976 for their national and provincial championships because competitors and spectators would not be restricted to one race group.[2]

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[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 May, 1 June, 4 June and 8 June.

[2] Mary Draper, *Sport and Race in South Africa*, S.A.I.R.R. 1963 states: "Regulations promulgated under the Boxing and Wrestling Control, No. 39 of 1954, stipulate that no boxing contracts or tournaments may take place between Whites and Non-Whites in South Africa, and that White persons are prohibited from acting as promoters, managers, seconds or advisers at any Non-White tournament, nor may they be directly or indirectly interested in any such tournament or in any Non-White boxer participating in it."

[1] *Star*, 3 October.

[2] *Ibid.*, 22 August.

GOLF

In May Vincent Tshabalala became the first S.A. Black to play on the United States professional golf circuit. His three week tour was sponsored by *The Star*.

S.A.'s first national amateur tournament for Blacks was arranged by the (Black) S.A. Golf Association, and held in Springs in October.

Black professional golfers competed for the twelve top positions in a series of five tournaments, in order to qualify for the S.A. professional circuit which was declared an open international series in 1973.

A motion by India that S.A. be expelled from the World Golf Council was defeated at a meeting of the Council in October, and Malaysia's refusal to grant visas to South Africans competing in the Eisenhower Cup and Espirito Santo Trophy resulted in the venue being changed to the Dominican Republic.

The administrators of the integrated Black controlling body (the S.A. Golf Association) were apparently annoyed about the formation of a "new S.A. Bantu Golf Union" by a group of African golfers in Natal. They regarded the Union as a "Black consciousness" move, and would not recognize it.[1]

OTHER FORMS OF SPORT

Gliding

A four-man S.A. team withdrew from the world gliding championships in Australia early this year after the Australian Government had threatened to withdraw a R20 000 subsidy for the championships if S.A. competed without giving a guarantee that their team was selected on merit and that no other country would withdraw because of S.A.'s participation.[1]

Fencing

The first S.A. open international fencing championships were held in May. A team of four Coloured fencers took part, as well as representatives of five foreign countries. In October, the men's champions of ten countries attended another such tournament in S.A. Two Coloured fencers took part.

Softball

In spite of opposition from the New Zealand Government, the Cardinals Club toured S.A. in September. Two Maoris and a Polynesian were in their team.[2]

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[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 October and further enquiries.
[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 November 1973.
[2] *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 July.

Bridge, Billiards and Chess

It was announced in September that a four-man multiracial bridge team—two Whites and two Indians—would represent S.A. in an international bridge tournament to be played in Mauritius and Reunion later in the year. This team had recently won the Transvaal's Pioneer Cup tournament, in which Blacks had been included for the first time.[3]

As a result of pressure from Irish anti-apartheid movements, the Irish billiards authorities barred S.A. from the world snooker championships in Dublin in November.[4]

In June S.A. was suspended by the World Chess Federation from entering any official international championships "until there was no racial discrimination in chess". The 21st Chess Olympiad was in progress at the time, and the S.A. team walked out in protest against the manner in which their case had been handled.[5]

University sports

The first multiracial sports "intervarsity" in S.A. was held in July between the (White) University of Cape Town and the (Coloured) University of the Western Cape, and took the form of a private sports day to avoid infringement of the Group Areas Act. The Coloured students won in soccer and netball, and the White teams in rugby and tennis.

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[3] *Sunday Times*, 8 September.
[4] *Star*, 9 October.
[5] *Star*, 27 June.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA (NAMIBIA)

INTERNATIONAL DECISIONS

As reported in previous issues of this *Survey*, early in 1972 the U.N. Security Council instructed the Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, to "initiate as soon as possible contact with all parties concerned" with a view to establishing conditions to enable the people of Namibia, freely and with strict regard to the principles of human equality, to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. Dr. Waldheim then made an extensive tour of the territory and reported back to the Security Council, which in December 1972 authorised him to continue his efforts to seek a solution.

After having discussions through diplomatic channels with S.A. representatives, Dr. Waldheim reported to the Council in May 1973 that the Republic had not provided "the complete and unequivocal clarification of S.A.'s policy in regard to self-determination and independence for Namibia" that had been envisaged by the Council.

During December 1973 [1] Dr. Waldheim told the Security Council that he had held talks with the Council for Namibia, the president of Swapo,[2] Chief Clemens Kapuuo of the National Convention, and the OAU, and had obtained the general view that because of the position set out by the S.A. Government, no useful purpose would be served by continuing the dialogue policy.

Peru introduced a resolution, which was passed unanimously by the Security Council, to the effect that the Council should discontinue efforts on the basis of the 1972 resolution. Dr. Waldheim was asked to keep the Council informed of any new important development. He told a Press conference that any new initiatives to solve the deadlock would have to come from S.A.[3]

On the next day, the UN General Assembly recognized Swapo as "the authentic representative of the Namibian people", and demanded S.A.'s immediate withdrawal from the territory. This resolution was passed by 107 votes to 2 (South Africa and Portugal), with 17 abstentions (The United States, Britain, France, West Germany, other West European countries, Canada, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay, Israel, and Malawi).[4]

It was reported [5] that the United States expressed to S.A. its "considerable concern" over development in S.W.A. including floggings by two tribal authorities of political opponents and the numerous arrests made during January and February (described later). The British Government, too, protested to S.A. against the floggings.[6]

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[1] *Star*, 11 December 1973.

[2] The S.W.A. People's Organization.

[3] *Star*, 12 December 1972, *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 January.

[4] *Star*, 13 December.

[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 April.

During December 1973 the UN General Assembly appointed Mr. Sean MacBride (president of Amnesty International) as Commissioner for Namibia, the man who would be installed as Administrator if S.A. were to withdraw from the territory. He succeeded Mr. Agha A. Hamid of Pakistan. In this post Mr. MacBride was responsible to the UN Council for Namibia, set up in 1967[7] to arrange for the transfer of control from S.A. and to take over the administration until the territory became independent.[8] Mr. MacBride announced in July[9] that he intended setting up a Namibian passport office in Angola, and moving the centre of his operations from the UN in New York to Lusaka in Zambia.

In 1967 the UN set up a special fund for Namibia and, later, a Training Programme for Southern Africa. During September Mr. MacBride used funds contributed by member-states to set up an institute in Lusaka to conduct research into the problems of Namibia, and to train a nucleus of Namibians to form the core of the future public administration of the territory.[10]

On 24 September Dr. Waldheim recommended to the General Assembly that it should set up UN radio transmitters in four African states to beam 24-hour broadcasts to Namibia in languages spoken there, informing the people about UN policies in regard to the liberation of the territory and to the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and telling them of the fight against racialism and of the steps being taken to achieve decolonisation in the world.[11]

The World Health Assembly, meeting in Geneva, adopted unanimously a resolution deciding, through the Council for Namibia, to admit the territory as an associate member of the World Health Organization. The territory has also been granted associate membership of Unesco. The Council for Namibia was invited to and participated in meetings organized by the International Labour Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization. The OAU pledged full support for the Council for Namibia. Mr. MacBride paid official visits, at the invitation of their respective governments, to at least thirteen member-states, including West Germany, France, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries.[12]

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[6] *Ibid.*, 6 July.
[7] See 1967 *Survey*, page 327.
[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 December 1973.
[9] *Ibid.*, 12 July.
[10] *Sunday Times*, 29 September.
[11] *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 September.
[12] U.N. *Namibia Bulletin* No. 2 of 1974.

THE CHANGED SITUATION IN REGARD TO S.W.A.

The military coup in Portugal and the change of political control in Angola, described in an earlier chapter, completely altered the strategic situation in S.W.A. The potential front in the bush war against Swapo was extended along the whole of the 1 600 km border from the Atlantic to the Zambian frontier, north of the Caprivi Strip. It was recorded in an earlier chapter that the S.A. Defence Force had taken over from the Police the patrolling of this area. Further, the political changes brought uncertainty about the future of the Kunene hydro-electric project on the border and the extensive plans for irrigating the northern part of S.W.A.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY AS EXPRESSED AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING

An account is given in the chapter on foreign affairs of the speech by the S.A. Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, in the Senate on 23 October. *Inter alia*, Mr. Vorster said that Southern Africa was at the crossroads and should choose now between peace or escalating conflict. The toll of confrontation would be high—too high for Southern Africa to pay.

On the specific issue of S.W.A., Mr. Vorster stated that S.A. would not withdraw suddenly. This would cause chaos. He still believed that the only solution to the territory's problems was that the people must be allowed to decide the future for themselves. Outside interference would lead only to greater confusion. The disruption of law and order could not be permitted.[13]

The UN Security Council was meeting at the time. In the course of a speech to this Council, described in the foreign affairs chapter, the S.A. Ambassador to the UN, Mr. "Pik" Botha, said S.A. recognized that S.W.A. had a distinct international status. Self-determination there might be reached much sooner than the ten years forecast by the S.A. Government in 1972.[14]

As mentioned earlier, the United States, Britain, and France vetoed a move to expel S.A. from the UN. The president of Swapo, Mr. Sam Nujoma, was strongly critical of this action. In a speech made in Stockholm he is reported to have said that his organization was willing to take part in talks only if they were sincerely aimed at ending the S.A. occupation of Namibia. "Whites would then be welcome to live in a liberated Namibia as guests of the African people."[15]

THE PRIME MINISTER'S ADVISORY COUNCIL

It was reported on page 382 of last year's *Survey* that during 1973 Mr. Vorster created an advisory council in S.W.A. Representatives of White and Coloured organizations and of

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[13] Senate Hansard 9 cols. 3342—3.
[14] *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 October.
[15] *Ibid.* 1 November.

African legislative councils and Bantu Authorities were invited to serve on it, but such invitations were not extended to political groups which stand for a unitary state and oppose the Odendaal plan for separate independent ethnic territories. Chief Clemens Kapuuo, who heads the largest group of Herero, in the west of S.W.A., and is also Vice President of the Namibia National Convention, refused to attend because of the exclusion of these political groups. Similarly, the Tribal Executive of the main group of Damara, who live outside the homeland, rejected the offer. The Nama people did so too. The Rehoboth Baster Volksparty, which won all the seats in the Basterraad elections held in 1971, at first accepted but then withdrew its proposed representatives. Members of less significant Herero, Damara, and Baster groups were invited instead. Consequently, the Advisory Council is not representative of the main Black groups that oppose the S.A. Government's policies. Chief Kapuuo has repeatedly stressed his view that a purely advisory body, established on an ethnic basis, can serve no useful purpose.

The Advisory Council, made up of about 40 delegates, met in an hotel in Cape Town during September for two days of discussions. The flight of large numbers of Ovambos to Angola is described later in this chapter: the Council resolved that these people should be allowed to return without being prosecuted on condition that they submitted to screening for security reasons. Among other resolutions passed were that compulsory education be introduced and a university established in S.W.A.; that prominent Blacks be allowed to stay in White hotels in the territory; that control of towns in the homelands be entrusted to the homeland governments concerned; and that there should be more contact between homeland leaders.[16]

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FREEDOM PARTIES

The National Convention met for two days in S.W.A. during July. Representatives of the following bodies attended:

(a) the locally-based Swapo (a less radical body than Swapo-in-exile), whose members are mainly Ovambo but which has a Herero, Mr. David Meroro, as chairman;
(b) the locally-based Swanu, led by Mr. Gerson Veii;
(c) the National Unity Democratic Organization (Nudo) led by Chief Clemens Kapuuo;
(d) the Rehoboth Volksparty;
(e) the Damara Tribal Executive;
(f) the Namib African People's Organization;
(g) the Herero Chief's Council.

It was again resolved that the Convention regarded itself as the sole representative of the people of Namibia, and that renewed efforts should be made for it to gain recognition as such from the

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[16] *Sunday Times*, 29 September.

OAU and the UN.[17] As mentioned on page 377 of last year's *Survey*, Chief Kapuuo visited New York during November 1973 to try to gain recognition of the Convention by the UN. Mr. Veii appeared before the Trusteeship Committee on 11 November 1974, and urged that the Convention be recognised internationally.[18]

PROPOSED TALKS WITHIN S.W.A.

In a written statement released at a Press conference in September, the head committee of the National Party in S.W.A., which was then meeting in Windhoek, said it had decided that the time was opportune for the Whites in the territory to take positive action to hold talks with members of other population groups with a view to reaching agreement as to the future. Talks were proposed at which each population group would choose its own representatives, who should if possible be acceptable to the group as a whole. The Whites would be represented by senior members of the territory's Executive Committee (who are all N.P. members), in consultation with the leader of the N.P. in S.W.A., Mr. A. H. du Plessis.

It was stated that when reference was made to population groups, it was not intended that such groups should be compromised in regard to their view of the political future. But the most practical way of convening a meeting would be to do so through these groups.

Mr. Du Plessis emphasised that all options would be open. It would be premature for him to say whether the future pattern of political development would be independence as a confederation, federation, or unitary state. It would also be premature to forecast whether or not the territory would retain its existing links with S.A., including representation in the S.A. Parliament.[19]

Chief Kapuuo, Mr. Veii, and a prominent Swapo member, Mr. Rahamisa Kahimise, are reported to have rejected the idea as formulated.[20] However, Chief Kapuuo said that if Government-appointed chiefs, headmen, and leaders were excluded, and the Black political parties and elected leaders included instead, the proposals might be a way of easing tensions.

PUNISHMENTS IMPOSED IN OWAMBO

Floggings

The Regulations for the Administration of the District of Ovamboland, gazetted in terms of Proclamation 17 as amended by Proclamation 26 of 1972, were described on page 439 of the *Survey* for that year. Briefly, all meetings in Owambo (with certain exceptions) were prohibited unless they had been authorized in writing by the Native Commissioner. The exceptions were church services, entertainments, etc., and meetings called by officials, chiefs, or headmen.

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[17] *Star*, 23 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 July.

[18] *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 October; and *Star*, 12 November.

[19] *Star*, 14 September.

[20] *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 and 27 September; *Sunday Times*, 6 October.

It was rendered an offence to say or do anything which was likely to have the effect of undermining the authority of the State, the Owambo Government, officials of these bodies, or a chief or headman. It also became an offence, *inter alia*, to make an intimidating statement, and to fail to obey any lawful order given by a chief or headman, or to treat him with disrespect.

The Chief Councillor of Owambo, Chief Filemon Elifas, and other chiefs and headmen there support the central Government's plan for the creation of self-governing areas within S.W.A. But, as indicated earlier, Swapo believes, instead, in a unitary S.W.A. So did a political party formed in Owambo during 1973—the Democratic Co-operative Party (Demcop), led by Mr. Johannes Nangutuuala.

The constitution for Owambo proclaimed in 1973 provided for a legislative council of 56 members, 35 of whom were to be designated by the seven tribal authorities, and 21 elected from the tribal areas. Elections were to be held in August 1973. Swapo (then led in Owambo by Mr. John Otto) and Demcop pointed out that it was impossible to hold free elections while the "emergency" regulations contained in Proclamation 17 were in force. In defiance of these regulations they held mass meetings urging that the elections be boycotted.[1] The existing legislative council then ruled that Demcop should not be allowed to operate in its territory. Large numbers of arrests were made—on 22 September 1973 *The Star* estimated that about a hundred Swapo and Demcop members were in detention.

Some of these people were brought before magistrates and prosecuted for having participated in illegal meetings, but it appeared that the majority were handed over to tribal courts for trial and punishment, the punishment imposed being flogging, or a fine, or deprival of the right to trade or to seek work in the South.

According to Press reports, by 12 November 1973 at least 20 people, men and women, had been flogged in the Ondangwa and Kwanyama tribal courts. (Chief Elifas was chairman of the Ondangwa tribal authority.) The flogging was carried out in public with the rib of a makalani palm branch, and numbers of the men received the lashes on their bare buttocks. One of them was Mr. Johannes Nangutuula, who was given 21 strokes.

Mr. Thomas Komati, a student, alleged that he had received 31 strokes. Together with the Anglican Bishop Richard Wood and Bishop Leonard Auala of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-Kavango Church Mr. Komati brought an urgent action before the Supreme Court, Windhoek, for an interdict against the two tribal authorities. In a provisional order, effective until 22 February 1974, Mr. Justice Hoexter restrained these tribal authorities from:

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[1] In the event, the percentage poll was only 2.5.

(a) flogging any person on the grounds that he was, or was suspected of being, a member, supporter, or sympathiser of Swapo or Demcop;
(b) flogging anyone unless the magistrate in Owambo and the Registrar of the Supreme Court had first been informed, after which 14 days must elapse before sentence was executed;
(c) sentencing anyone to a flogging of more than ten lashes;
(d) flogging anyone on the exposed body in public;
(e) flogging women.

The tribal authorities were given until 22 February 1974 to show cause why the order should not be made final.

On 5 February the Republic's Minister of Bantu Administration and Development was questioned about the matter in the Assembly.[2] He replied that he had not ordered any inquiry into the alleged floggings, nor made any representations about them, since this was a matter in the exclusive jurisdiction of the tribal authorities.

After considerable argument in the Supreme Court, Windhoek, at the end of February and early the following month, on 22 March a full Bench of this Court refused to confirm the provisional order, on the grounds that the Bishops had no right at law to intervene on behalf of threatened persons, that Mr. Komati had no claim to relief as he had already been flogged, and that there was a right of appeal which adequately protected those sentenced to flogging.[3]

The Bishops and Mr. Komati then petitioned the Chief Justice of S.A. for leave to appeal as a matter of urgency against the Supreme Court's decision. They also applied to the Supreme Court for an interim order preventing floggings until such time as the main appeal to the Chief Justice had been heard by the Appellate Division. This latter application was rejected.[4]

The Appellate Division granted leave to appeal, but not as a matter of urgency.[5] Renewed application was made to the Supreme Court, Windhoek, for an interim order preventing further floggings pending the result of the appeal, but this was refused.[6]

Meanwhile, at least two more Swapo supporters, Messrs. Johnny Kalola and Salom Ndeilita, are reported[7] to have been flogged by the order of the Kwanyama tribal authority, receiving 16 and 20 lashes respectively.

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[2] Hansard 1 Question cols. 2—4.
[3] *Star*, 5 April.
[4] *Star*, 5, 10, and 17 April; *Rand Daily Mail*, 6, 9 and 18 April; *Sunday Times*, 7 April.
[5] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 May and 4 June.
[6] *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 June; *Star*, 13 June.
[7] *Star*, 4 and 10 April.

Alleged torture of certain detainees

Disturbances in Owambo in early 1972, which led to the promulgation of the emergency regulations, were described on pages 439–40 of the *Survey* for that year. By 11 April 1972 about 267 Ovambo had been detained by the police. Some were released after interrogation, while others were charged with various offences.

As mentioned on page 384 of last year's *Survey*, on 30 April 1973 Bishop Auala of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-Kavango Church and Bishop Johannes de Vries of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa headed a deputation of their church members (reported to number some 333 000) which had discussions with the Prime Minister, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, and the Commissioner-General for the Indigenous Peoples. The church leaders were reported to have complained about restrictions on the free movement of clergymen within the territory, the refusals of residence permits or visas to clergymen, and the breaking up of family life caused by the pass laws. They also alleged that some of those who had been arrested during 1972 had been tortured by Ovambo policemen and certain military personnel. A list was handed to the Prime Minister of 37 persons who had stated that they had been tortured, and the deputation asked for a judicial commission of inquiry. The Prime Minister promised that the allegations and complaints would be investigated.[8]

During September 1973, Bishop Auala received a letter from the Prime Minister's Secretary which stated that the allegations by the 37 people had been investigated, and had been found to be without foundation.[9]

Early in 1974 the two Bishops wrote jointly to the Prime Minister rejecting these findings and maintaining that tortures did take place and were still taking place. They had no knowledge of an inquiry by any commission, they said, and must, therefore, assume that the investigation was made by the same people who, in their opinion, were responsible for the tortures. It seemed obvious that victims would not admit to their torturers that they had been tortured, in fear of being subjected to further torture. Because of this, the truth of the matter lay buried.[10]

ENTRY TO OWAMBO

It remains extremely difficult for clergy, pressmen and others to obtain permission to visit Owambo. During Ju[illegible] the Anglican Bishop of Damaraland, the Rt. Rev. Richard Wo[illegible], [illegible]ated that he had consistently been refused permits to visit his approximately 50 000 parishioners in Owambo. Because of this he had asked

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[8] *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 and 20 April.

[9] *Pro Veritate*, March, reporting on an interview with the Bishop.

[10] *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 April; *Sunday Times*, 14 July.

Bishop Frederick Amoore of Bloemfontein to conduct confirmation services for some 2 400 children there. But Bishop Amoore, too, had been refused a permit.[11]

EVENTS ON THE BORDERS WITH ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA

As mentioned earlier, the S.A. Defence Force has taken over from the S.A. Police the defence of the northern borders of S.W.A., which is largely rugged bush country. It is reported [12] to have established a series of fortified bases from which patrols operate, assisted by Bushman or African trackers. The Commissioner-General stated [13] that the patrols would not interfere with legitimate traffic between the people (mainly of the large Kwanyama tribe) whose families straddle parts of the border between Owambo and Angola.

During June, representatives of the Press were invited to visit the Caprivi Strip, where a socio-economic upliftment programme has been in progress with the aim of winning for the authorities the goodwill and co-operation of the local population. Considerable amounts have been spent on schools, clinics, and the provision of advice to peasant farmers. The Bantu Investment Corporation was reported to be giving financial assistance to 46 retail stores, a garage, a bakery, and an abattoir.[14]

It was reported [15] that during June about 28 Swapo guerrillas attacked a military post in West Caprivi, close to the Angola and Zambia borders. Some of the buildings were burned down, seven South Africans were wounded, and one, Lieut. F. Zeelie, was killed. Four of the attackers were killed and some wounded.

In a broadcast over Radio Owambo in April, Chief Elifas said that the Ovambo tribal authorities had been raising money voluntarily for comforts for policemen engaged in anti-guerrilla activities. In a ceremony held in May he handed over a cheque for R20 000 to the Commissioner of the Railways Police and another for R10 000 to the Commissioner of the S.A. Police.[16]

The Commissioner-General announced in June [17] it had been decided that about ten specially selected Ovambo men would be sent to Pretoria to take a Defence Force instructor's course, and would return to train others, under the control of the Defence Force. The request for training had come from the Legislative Council.

DETENTIONS AND TRIALS

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 8 February [1] the Minister of Police said that during 1973, 69 men and 13 women in

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[11] *Sunday Times*, 14 July.
[12] *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 June.
[13] *Ibid.*, 25 June.
[14] *Ibid.*, 14 June.
[15] *Sunday Times*, 30 June; *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 August.
[16] *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 April and 14 May.
[17] *Ibid.*, 27 June.
[1] Hansard 1 Question cols. 34—5.

Owambo had been detained in terms of the "emergency" Proclamation 17 of 1972. None was still in detention. Twenty-seven of them had been charged with contraventions of the regulations embodied in the Proclamation, all but one being convicted.

It was reported on 14 January [2] that on the previous day the police arrested 155 members of Swapo and its Youth League who were proceeding from Windhoek to attend a public meeting at Rehoboth. They had been ordered to produce travel and indentity documents, but apparently did not do so. Among those arrested were Mr. David Meroro, the Swapo national chairman, Mr. Ezriel Taapopi, and Mr. Joseph Kashea. About 29 of them, mainly women and children, were released after a few hours. Mr. Meroro was allowed to go home on condition that he reported next day at the Windhoek Bantu Commissioner's Court.

On 14 January 120 men and 7 women appeared in this court on charges of failing to produce identification papers or documents permitting them to travel to Rehoboth, or of being unlawfully in the Windhoek Katutura township. Mr. Meroro was found guilty of having no travel document, and sentenced to R5 or 10 days.[3] No detailed information was published about the trials of the others.

A few days later, on 18 January, the police made a dawn sweep on Katutura, and are said to have arrested 141 men and 45 women, including many Swapo members.[4] Other arrests followed during the following three months, all of leading Swapo members: Mr. David Meroro, Mr. David Shikomba, chairman of the Youth League, Mr. Ezriel Taapopi who took over as acting chairman, Mr. Joseph Kashea, acting secretary, and Mr. Thomas Komati, one of the three applicants for an order restraining the two tribal authorities from imposing floggings. He was secretary of the Youth League in Owambo. All the leading members of Swapo in the south were amongst those detained. Numbers were held in detention for several months: no statistics were published.

Messrs. Taapopi and Kashea appeared in the Supreme Court, Windhoek, on 10 June on charges under the 1962 Riotous Assemblies Ordinance. The indictment alleged that they had incited Swapo-in-exile to commit acts of violence within the territory and to murder various persons there, to destroy property, and to disturb the peace. At the opening of the trial counsel for the defence said that the two men had been held in solitary confinement in very small cells, under the Terrorism Act, for nearly four months. This had affected their memories: they were confused and not in a fit state to stand trial. At his request, an adjournment was granted.[5] At the resumed trial, on 30 July, both were found guilty of the charges and were sentenced to five years' imprisonment, of which three years were conditionally suspended.[6]

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[2] *Argus* of that date.
[3] *Cape Times*, 15 January.
[4] *Cape Times*, 19 January.
[5] *Rand Daily Mail* and *Star* of 11 June.

It was reported on 14 July [7] that seven Swapo leaders had recently been released, five still being in detention. Thomas Komati was among those released, but he was immediately charged with malicious damage to property in that, while in solitary confinement, he had written on the wall of his cell. At the beginning of the trial his counsel, too, asked for a postponement because, during nearly six months of confinement, Mr. Komati had suffered mental confusion and hallucinations. A postponement was granted, Mr. Komati being allowed bail; but during this period he fled to Angola.[8]

Two other Swapo members, held without trial for seven and eight months respectively, were Mr. Lot Zacharias and Mr. Alex J. Johannes. On 10 September a judge of the Windhoek Supreme Court ordered their release on bail of R250 each, instructing them to report twice daily to the police. He said that they had been held in isolation until 19 July, when they appeared for remand in the Gobabis magistrate's court. After all the months that had elapsed since their detention there was still doubt about the charges against them. Mr. Zacharias said in court that while in detention he had been beaten and given shocks, and Mr. Johannes alleged that he had been assaulted and threatened. However, magistrates from three areas where the men had successively been held stated in affidavits that they had visited these men in detention. They had not make serious complaints, appeared to be mentally normal, and showed no signs of assault. The judge said that, while he did not want to anticipate a finding, the allegations of maltreatment appeared to be improbable. Mr. Zacharias was subsequently convicted in a magistrate's court of having tried to leave the country illegally. He was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, of which eight months and ten days were commuted in view of his earlier detention, and the remainder was conditionally suspended for three years.[9] Mr. Johannes was charged with having assisted Mr. Zacharias and a State witness, Mr. G. Itenga, to have tried to escape from the country. During his evidence Mr. Itenga, too, said that he had been assaulted and shocked while he was in detention. The outcome of Mr. Johannes's trial was apparently not reported locally, but it seems that he was, shortly afterwards, holding office as Swapo's general secretary.

Mr. Meroro was held in solitary confinement for several months, then released on bail until he appeared in the Windhoek Regional Court on 16 October, charged with possessing banned material. He told the court that while in custody he had been repeatedly assaulted by four policemen. After days of interrogation and assault he had developed hallucinations. The case was postponed to January 1975.[10]

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[6] *Ibid*, 31 July.

[7] *Sunday Times* of that date.

[8] *Sunday Times*, 14 July; *Star*, 30 July and 13 August.

[9] *Star* and *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 September.

EXODUS OF OVAMBOS[11]

It was reported in mid-June that Swapo leaders from Owambo were crossing the border to seek refuge in Angola, with the possible intention of proceeding from there to Zambia, either to link up with Swapo-in-exile, or hoping for training at the Un-sponsored institute that was being established at Lusaka to train Namibians to take over the administration of the territory. Over the weeks and months that followed many hundreds of others followed—teachers, church workers, nurses, civil servants, policemen, bank clerks, school children. According to one Press report, the exodus was triggered off partly by a widespread rumour that the Owambo government was planning to arrest Swapo leaders and hold them under the emergency regulations until the situation in Angola, following the coup in Portugal on 25 April, had become clear. Many of the people evidently went to escape political repression and floggings (Andreas Nuukwawo, flogged in 1973,[12] was one of them) and could no longer endure racial discrimination. The first waves of people went from Owambo, but they were joined later by people coming from as far south as Windhoek. One of the leaders who left from Owambo was Mr. John ya Otto, the Swapo leader in the area, who, it was reported, had been without work since May 1973, when he was suspended from his post as principal of a Government school after being charged with holding illegal meetings.

Most of those leaving apparently walked across the wild border country, helped by Ovambo living in southern Angola, then travelled by bus from villages in the south to towns on the Benguela railway line such as Nova Lisboa or Vila Lusa, from where they hoped to go by train via Zaïre to Zambia.

During the early days, considerable numbers of those who did board trains were arrested by the Angolan authorities at Teixeira de Sousa, where the railway crosses into Zaïre. Many others were arrested in the south, before they reached the railway, on charges of having no travel permits. These people asked for political asylum. It was announced on 27 June that formal asylum would not be granted, but the arrested persons would not be sent back to S.W.A. They would not be allowed to establish bases in Angola for action against the S.A. Government, nor to link up with Swapo-in-exile. Refugee hostels were established. Later, however, many of the refugees were allowed to continue their journey to Zambia. Mr. ya Otto was reported to have reached Lusaka by mid-July.

[10] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 October.

[11] Account compiled from a large number of Press and other reports.

[12] See 1973 *Survey* page 389.

It was estimated at the end of October that between 1 500 and 2 000 had left S.W.A.

On 25 June the Owambo Legislative Council met for an urgent debate on steps that could be taken to halt the illegal departures. Members of the cabinet held joint discussions with representatives of all the churches and missions operating in Owambo. A statement was issued urging young people, in particular, not to leave. The homeland's Minister of Justice announced that a reward would be paid for information leading to the arrest of persons who, he alleged, were through false pretences encouraging young Ovambos to go.

On 27 June the Commissioner-General for the Indigenous Peoples, Mr. Jannie de Wet, asked leaders of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo-Kavango, Roman Catholic, Anglican, Baptist, and Congregational Churches to investigate why the people were leaving. Their findings were presented to him early in August. According to various Press reports, these included the following points:

(a) As a mandated territory, S.W.A. should be given more opportunity of progressing to self-determination and independence.

(b) The existing constitution had been forced on the people. The Odendaal plan was being carried out in the spirit of dividing the Blacks in order to rule them.

(c) Educated Blacks wanted to share in the country's politics. Instead, they had been persecuted, and their political parties discouraged.

(d) The oppressive powers of the police had caused grievance. Those people who opposed the constitution were being flogged, tortured with electric shocks, and detained for long periods without trial.

(e) Proclamation 17 of 1972 restricted freedom of speech. The police were often wrongly informed because informers were offered rewards.

(f) To obtain registration documents, people were forced to give their finger-prints as if they were thieves or murderers.

(g) Blacks were paid wages according to apartheid, not work. The people did not accept the Bantu education system which had been forced on them.

The S.A. Prime Minister told the House of Assembly on 2 September[13] that it was a great pity so many young people had left: they would bitterly regret having done so. He considered that they had not gone in order to receive military training, but rather under the false impression that they were going to universities or the Lusaka institute to be trained to staff an independent Namibia after the UN had taken over. "They will arrive and find out that they are under no circumstances going to be trained in that regard.

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[13] Hansard 5 cols. 1992—3.

Provision will perhaps be made for individuals in order to keep up the bluff, to show the world that something of that nature is under way."

In a speech made on 15 September the Commissioner-General is reported [14] to have offered Blacks who fled illegally for political reasons indemnity from prosecution if they returned in peace.

NEW CONSTITUTION AND ELECTIONS FOR OWAMBO

In terms of Proclamation R193 of 11 October, the Owambo Legislative Council will be dissolved with effect from 13 January 1975. Proclamation R192 of the same date altered the constitution decided upon in 1973 [1], providing for the first time for a majority of elected members. There will still be 35 designated members, five selected by each of the seven tribal authorities. But in future there will be 42 instead of 21 elected members (six instead of three elected from each of the seven tribal areas). Elections will be held during January 1975.

The Commissioner-General is reported [2] to have said that Swapo would be able to campaign openly in these elections. Political parties would, this time, not have to apply to the Owambo government for the approval of their constitutions. The Chief Minister, Chief Elifas, added that Ovambo who had recently fled to Zambia would be welcome to return and participate in the elections provided that they came in peace to play a part in Owambo's constitutional development.[3]

Mr. A. Johannes, Swapo's general secretary, is reported [4] to have said, however, that Swapo would again call upon its supporters to boycott the election. His reasons were that most of the leaders of the organization were either in jail or abroad as exiles, Proclamation 17 of 1972 was still in force, and the election would be held "on the homeland pattern".

EAST CAPRIVI (LOZI)

A proclamation published in Windhoek on 22 October provided for self-government for Eastern Caprivi as from 1 April 1975, under the name of Lozi.[1]

THE COLOURED COUNCIL

The S.W.A. Coloured Council consists of six elected members and five members nominated by the S.A. Government, which appoints the chairman of the Council's executive. As th term of office of the previous Council had expired, elections w held on 30 October. Three seats were won by the Federal Coloured People's Party, led by Mr. A. J. F. Kloppers. Two seats went to the Southern Group, led by Mr. A. Hartung, and one to an independent.

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[14] *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 September.

[1] See 1973 *Survey*, page 384.

[2] *Rand Daily Mail* and *Star*, 2 October.

[3] *Star*, 17 October.

[4] *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 October.

[1] *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 October.

Both Mr. Kloppers and Mr. Hartung said in Press statements[2] that the S.A. Government would make a grave mistake if it filled the nominated seats with "yes-men". Mr. Kloppers added that his party preferred consultation to confrontation, but if ill-advised appointments were made the position could change.

LAND PURCHASE FOR CREATION OF HOMELANDS

Questioned in the Assembly on 27 August,[1] the Minister of Coloured and Rehoboth and Nama Relations said that totals of 1 004 372 ha of land had been purchased from Whites for adding to Namaland, and 73 790 ha for adding to the Rehoboth Gebiet. A total of 209 052 ha had been excised from Namaland for White occupation. The cost to the State had been R13 994 247.

On the same day the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development stated[2] that 3 227 754 ha had been bought from Whites for adding to Native homelands, at a cost of R26 554 785. No land had been excised from homelands for White occupation.

BUDGETS OF EXPENDITURE ON BLACK COMMUNITIES[3]

Department of Bantu Administration and Development

The budget of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for expenditure in the Native homelands of S.W.A. during the year ending 31 March 1975 was as follows:[4]

	R	*R*
Health services		4 459 000
Grant-in-aid to the S.A. Bantu Trust Fund for development works		14 042 000
Annual grants to homeland governments:[5]		
Owambo	2 858 000	
Kavango	1 199 000	4 057 000
Additional grants to homeland governments		
Owambo	2 738 000	
Kavango	1 895 000	4 633 000
Miscellaneous		528 000
		27 719 000

The S.A. Bantu Trust Fund would spend a further R2 018 000 from its own sources of revenue.

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[2] *Star*, 1 November.

[1] Hansard 4 col. 214. A new title has been given to this portfolio.

[2] Col. 199.

[3] Excluding East Caprivi, which is included with the Republic for budgeting purposes.

[4] Estimates of Expenditure from the S.W.A. Account, R.P. 4/1974, Vote 5.

[5] See page 186 for an explanation of the annual and additional grants.

Other Government Departments

The budgets of other S.A. Government Departments for the same year included the following items of proposed expenditure:[6]

	R
Department of Bantu Education[7] . .	2 466 000
Department of Public Works	1 206 400
Department of Coloured and Rehoboth and Nama Relations .	9 941 000

Various other Government departments and the S.A. Railways and Harbours and Postal Administrations incur expenditure on behalf of Black communities in S.W.A., but information about the amounts concerned is not available.

Budgets of homeland governments

To their allocations from the central Government the homeland governments add revenue derived from tribal levies, labour bureaux fees, licence fees, liquor profits, rents, etc. According to reports of the Controller and Auditor-General for 1972/3, the revenue derived in these ways that year was:

	R
Owambo	607 585
Kavango	144 162

The Rehoboth Baster community maintains its own Revenue and Special Development Fund. The Controller and Auditor-General reported that in the financial year 1972—3 the revenue was R94 821 and the expenditure R67 509.

SOME NOTES ON AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said in the Assembly on 9 August[8] that an agricultural school had recently been established at Ogongo in Owambo, opening with 18 students. Another was being built at Masori in Kavango.

The agricultural division of the Bantu Investment Corporation is undertaking a cattle ranching project in Kavango, which may create employment for some 300 people. A similar scheme is envisaged for Owambo.[9]

MINING

Replying to questions in the Assembly on 16 August,[10] the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development said that mining leases had been granted in Damaraland for tin, copper, and fluospar, in Owambo for salt stone, and in Kaokoland for semi-precious stones.

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[6] Votes 6, 15 and 22.

[7] The homeland governments would add further amounts from the government grants and their own sources of revenue.

[8] Hansard 1 col. 394.

[9] *Homelands: The Rôle of the Corporations.* Chris van Rensburg Publications (Pty) Ltd., 1973, page 85.

[10] Hansard 2 cols. 114—5.

BANTU INVESTMENT CORPORATION

In the Assembly on 28 August [11] the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that during the year ended 31 March 1973 the Bantu Investment Corporation granted 35 loans to African businessmen and light industrialists in S.W.A., to a total amount of R119 740. Since its inception the Corporation had built 47 business premises for letting to Africans. It had itself established 33 trading and 9 industrial concerns: 11 of the trading concerns had been transferred to African ownership. The concerns still owned by the B.I.C. provided employment for 98 Whites and 589 Africans, while another 21 Whites and 406 Africans were employed in B.I.C. building operations.

The trading concerns established included wholesale and/or retail general dealers, hardware and bottlestores, butcheries and workshops and service stations. The industrial concerns were a furniture factory, soft drink factory, four bakeries, a mechanical workshop, and two sawmills.

SOCIAL SERVICES

Information about educational, health, social welfare, and other services is contained in the chapters dealing with these subjects.

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[11] Hansard 4 col. 209

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